

A Modest Enquiry
Into the Nature of
Witchcraft,
AND

How Persons Guilty of that Crime
may be convicted: And the means
used for their Discovery Discussed,
both Negatively and Affirmatively,
according to *SCRIPTURE* and
EXPERIENCE.

By **John Hale,**
Pastor of the Church of Christ in Beverley,
Anno Domini 1697.

*When they say unto you, seek unto them that have
Familiar Spirits and unto Wizzards, that peep, &c.
To the Law and to the Testimony; if they speak
not according to this word, it is because there is no
light in them, Isaiah VIII. 19, 20.
That which I see not teach thou me, Job. 34. 32.*

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Any general Custom against the Law of God
is void. St. Germans Abridgement of Common
Law. Lib. 1. C. 6.

*Omnia legum est inanis censura nisi
Divinae legis imaginem gerat.* Finch of Com-
mon Law. Lib. 4 C. 3.

Where a Law is grounded upon a Pre-
sumption, if the Presumption fail the Law
is not to be holden in Conscience. Abridg-
ment of C. Law. Lib. 1. C. 19.

An Epistle to the READER.

IT hath been said of Old, That Time is the Mother of Truth, and Truth is the Daughter of Time. It is the Prerogative of ~~Truth~~ the God of Truth, to know all the Truth in all things at once and together: It is also his Glory to conceal a matter; Prov. 25. 2. And to bring the Truth to light in that manner and measure, and the times appointed, as it pleaseth him; it is our duty in all humility, and with fear and trembling to search after truth, knowing that secret things belong to God, and only things revealed belong to us, and so far as they are revealed; for in many things it may be said, what God is doing we know not now; but we, or others that succeed us, shall know hereafter. Omitting other Examples, I shall Instance only in the matter of Witchcraft, which on the Humane side, is one of the most hidden Works of Darkness, managed by the Rulers of the Darkness of this World, to the doing of great spoil a-
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amongst the Children of men: And on the Divine side, it is one of the most awful and tremendous [4] judgments of God, which can be inflicted on the Societies of men, especially when the Lord shall please for his own holy ends to enlarge Satan's Commission in more than an ordinary way.

It is known to all men, that it pleased God some few years ago, to suffer Satan to raise much trouble amongst us in that respect, the beginning of which was very small, and looked on at first as an ordinary case which had fallen out before at several times in other places, & would be quickly over. Only one or two persons belonging to Salem Village about five miles from the Town being suspected, were Examined, &c. But in the progress of the matter, a multitude of other persons both in that and other Neighbour Towns, were Accused, Examined, Imprisoned & came to their Trials, at Salem, the County Town, where about Twenty of them Suffered as Witches; and many others in danger of the same Tragical End: and still the number of the Accused increased unto many Scores; amongst whom were many Persons of unquestionable Credit, never under any grounds of suspicion of that or any other scandalous Evil. This brought a general Consternation upon all sorts of People, doubting what would be the issue

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of such a dreadful Judgment of God upon the Country; but the Lord was pleased suddenly to put a stop to those proceedings, that there was no further trouble, as hath been related by others. But it left in the minds of men a sad remembrance of that sorrowful time; and a Doubt whether some Innocent Persons might not [5] Suffer, and some guilty Escape. There is no doubt but the Judges and Juries proceeded in their Integrity, with a zeal of God against Sin, according to their best light, and according to Law and Evidence; but there is a Question yet unsolved, Whether some of the Laws, Customs and Principles used by the Judges and Juries in the Trials of Witches in England (which were followed as Patterns here) were not insufficient & unsafe.

As for my Self, being under the Infirmities of a decrepit Old Age, I staid little abroad, & was much disabled (both in body & mind) from knowing and judging of Occurrences & Transactions of that time: But my Reverend Brother Mr. Hale, having for above Thirty Years, been Pastor of the Church at Beverly (but two miles from Salem, where the Trials were) was frequently present, and was a diligent Observer of all that passed, and being one of a Singular Prudence and Sagacity, in searching into the narrowes of things: He hath
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(After much deliberation) in this Treatise, rec-
tate the Substance of the Case as it was, and
given Reasons from Scripture against some of
the Principles & Practises then used in the
Tryals of Witchcraft; and said something
also in a Positive way, and shewing the right
Application that is to be made of the whole, and
all this in such a pious and modest manner, as
cannot be offensive to any, but may be generally
acceptable to all the Lovers of Truth and Peace.

[6] I am the more willing to accompany
him to the Press, because I am persuaded such
a Treatise as this is needful & useful, upon
divers accounts. As;

I. That the Works of God may be known;
and that God may be more acknowledged and
adored, in his Justice, and in his Mercy: in
his Justice, by letting loose Evil Angels, to make
so great a spoyle amongst us as they did for
the Punishment of a declining People: And in
his Mercy, by Countermanning of Satans Com-
mission, and keeping^d him in Chains of res-
traint, that he should proceed no further.
Psal. 83. last.

2. That the Truth of Things may be more
fully known, so far as God shall please to
reveal the same in the use of lawful means;
for the Judgments of God are a great deep, &
he is wont to make known truth by degrees;
and Experience teacheth us, there is need of
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more to be said than hath been yet, for the clearing up of difficulties about the matter of Witchcraft. We ought to be fellow helpers to the truth. 3 Epistle of John 8. v.

3. That whatever Errors or Mistakes we fell into, in the dark hour of Temptation that was upon us, may be (upon more light) so discovered, acknowledged and disowned by us, as that it may be matter of Warning & Caution to those that come after us, that they may not fall into the like. I Cor. 10. 11. *Felix quem faciunt alieno pericula cautum.*

4. And that it may occasion the most Learned and Pious men to make a further & fuller Enquiry [7] into the matter of Witchcraft, especially into the positive part, How Witches may be so discovered, that innocent persons may be preserved, and none but the guilty may suffer. Prov. 17. 15.

Verily whosoever shall by the Grace of God be enabled to Contribute further light in this matter, will do good Service to God & Men in his Generation.

I would also propound and leave it as an Object of Consideration to our Honoured Magistrates and Reverend Ministers, Whether the Equity of that Law in Leviticus, Chap. 4. for a Sin offering for the Rulers and for the Congregation, in the case of Sins of Ignorance, when they come to be known, be not Obliging, and for direction to us in a gospel way.

Now the Father of Lights & Mercies
grant

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grant unto us, that Mercy & Truth may meet together, that righteousness and peace may kiss each other, that the Glory of God may dwell in our Land; and that it may be said of New-England, The Lord Bless thee, O Habitation of Justice & Mountain of Holiness.

Finally, That the Blessing of Heaven may go along with this little Treatise to attain the good Ends thereof, is, and shall be the Prayer of him who is daily waiting for his Change, & looking for the Mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ unto Eternal Life.

March 23d.
1697, 8.

John Higginson
Pastor of the Church, of
Salem.
Ætatis 82.

The Preface TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

THE Holy Scriptures inform us that the Doctrine of Godliness is a great Mystery, containing the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven: Mysteries which require great search for the finding out: And as the Lord hath his Mysteries to bring us to Eternal Glory; so Satan hath his Mysteries to bring us to Eternal Ruine: Mysteries not easily understood, whereby the depths of Satan are managed in hidden wayes. So the Whore of Babylon makes the Inhabitants of the Earth drunk with the Wine of her Fornication, by the Mystery of her abominations, Rev. 17. 2. And the man of Sin hath his Mystery of iniquity whereby he deceiveth men through the working of Satan in signes and lying wonders, 2 Thes. 23, 7, 9.

And among Satans Mysteries of iniquity, this of Witchcraft is one of the most difficult to be searched out by the Sons of men; as appeareth [9] by the great endeavours of Learned and Holy men to search it out, and the great differences that are

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found among them, in the rules laid down for the bringing to light these hidden works of darkness. So that it may seem presumption in me to undertake so difficult a Theam, & to lay down such rules as are different from the Sentiments of many Eminent writers, and from the Presidents & practices of able Lawyers; yea and from the Common Law itself.

But my Apology for this undertaking is;

1. That there hath been such a dark dispensation by the Lord, letting loose upon us the Devil, Anno. 1691. & 1692. as we never experienced before; And thereupon apprehending and condemning persons for Nitchevass; & nextly acquitting others no less liable to such a charge; which evidently shew we were in the dark, and knew not what to do; but have gone too far on the one or other side, if not on both. Hereupon I esteemed it necessary for some person to collect a Summary of that affair, with some animadversions upon it, which might at least give some light to them which come after, to shun those Rocks by which we were bruised, and narrowly escaped Shipwreck upon. And I have waited five years for some other person to undertake it, who might do it better than I can, but find none; and judge it better to do what I can, [10] than that such a work should be left undone. Better sincerely though weakly done, then not at all, or with such a bias of prejudice as will put false glosses upon that which was managed with uprightness of heart, though there was not so great a spirit of discerning, as were to be wished in so weighty ~~a matter~~ concernment

2. I have been present at several Examinations and Tryals, and knew sundry of those that Suffered upon that account in former years, and in this last affair, & so have more advantages than a stranger, to give account of these Proceedings.

3. I have been from my Youth trained up in the knowledge and belief of most of those principles I here question as unsafe to be used. The first person that suffered on this account in New-England, about fifty years since, was my Neighbour; and I heard much of what was charged upon her, and others in those times; and the reverence I bore to aged, learned and judicious persons, caused me to drink in their principles in these things, with a kind of Implicit Faith. *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem, Testa-
dum.* A Child will not easily forsake the principles he hath been trained up in from his Cradle.

But observing the Events of that sad Catastrophe, Anno 1692. I was brought to a more strict scanning of the principles I had imbibed, and by scanning, to question, and by question[ing] at length to reject many of them, upon the reasons shewed in the ensuing Discourse. It is an approved saying *Nihil certius, quam quod ex dubio fit certum* No truth more certain to a man than that which he hath formerly doubted or denied, and is recovered from his error, by the convincing evidence of Scripture & Reason. Yet I know and am sensible, that while we know but in part, man is apt in flying from a discovered error, to run into the contrary extreme.

Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdim.

The middle way is commonly the way of truth. And if any can shew me a better middle way than I have here laid down, I shall be ready to embrace it: But the conviction must not be by vinegar or drollery, but by strength of argument.

4. I have had a deep sense of the sad con-
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To the Christian Reader. [11-12]

quence of mistakes in matters Capital; & their impossibility of recovering when completed. And what grief of heart it brings to a tender conscience have been unwittingly encouraging of the Sufferings of the innocent. And I hope a zeal to prevent for the future such sufferings is pardonable, although there should be much weakness, and some errors in the pursuit thereof.

5. I observe the failings that have been on the one hand, have driven some into that which is indeed an extream on the other hand, [12] and of dangerous consequence, viz. To deny any such persons to be under the New Testament, who by the Devils aid discover Secrets, or do work wonders. Therefore in the latter part of this discourse, I have taken pains to prove the Affirmative, yet with brevity, because it hath been done already by Perkins of *Witchcraft*. Glanvil his *Saduciscus Triumphatus*. Pt. I. p. 1. to 90 & Pt. 2, p. 1 to 80. Yet I would not be understood to justify all his notions in those discourses, but acknowledge he hath strongly proved the being of *Witches*.

6. I have special reasons moving me to bear my testimony about these matters, before I go hence & be no more; the which I have here done and I hope with some assistance of his Spirit to whom I commit myself & this my labour, even that God whose I am & whom I serve: Desiring his Mercy in Jesus Christ to Pardon all the Errors of his People in the day of darkness; and to enable us to fight with Satan by Spiritual Weapons, putting on the whole Armour of God.

And tho' Satan by his Messengers may buffet Gods Children, yet there's a promise upon right Resisting, he shall flee from them, *1 Jam. 4. 7.* And that all things shall work together for the good of those that love the Lord, *Rom. 8. 28.* So that I believe Gods Children shall be gainers by the assaults of Satan, which occasioned this Discourse; which that they may, is the Prayer of, Thine in the Service of the Gospel.

JOHN HALE.

Beverly, Decemb. 15th. 1697.

A Modest Enquiry

Into the Nature of

WITCHCRAFT.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. I.

THE Angels who kept not their first Estate, by Sin against God, lost their primitive purity, and glorious Excellency, as to their

moral qualifications and became unclean, wicked, envious, lyars, and full of all wickedness, which as Spirits they are Capable of. Yet I do not find in Scripture that they lost their natural abilities of understanding or power operation.

I. As for their understanding, they are called *Daimon* (which we translate Devil) because they are full of wisdom, cunning, skill, subtilty & knowledg. He hath also the name of Serpent from his subtilty, 2 Cor. II. 3. And his knowledge in the Scriptures, and

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and witnesses to prevent them, appears by his quoting Scripture to our Saviour when he tempted him. *Mat. 4.*

And as there be many Devils, and these active, quick, swift and piercing Spirits, so they going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down in it, have advantages to know all the actions of the Children of men, both open and secret, their discourses, consultations, and much of the inward affections of men thereby; though still its Gods prerogative immediately to know the heart. *Jer. 17. 10.*

2. As to their natural power as Spirits its very great, if not equal to that of the Holy Angels: For,

1. They are called *Principalities and Powers*. *Rom. 8. 38. Eph. 6. 12. Col. 2. 14. 15.* compared with *Heb. 2. 14. 15.* Now these are names given to the Holy Angels. *Eph. 1. 21. and 3. 10.*

2. They are called, *Rulers of the darkness of this world, the Prince of the power of the Air.* *Eph. 6. 12. and 2. 2.*

3. Such was their power that they contended with Michael and the Angels about the Body of Moses. *2 Pet. 2. 11. Jude 9.* That is, as I conceive, about preventing the Burial of the Body of Moses: For it's said, *Deut. 34. 6.* The Lord buried him, and no man knoweth of his Sepulchre to this day. That is, he did it by the Ministry of Angels (for the Lord gave

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the Law, *Exod. 20.1.* and that it was by the Ministry of Angels, see *Gal. 3. 19.* so probably was the burial of *Moses's Body*) and the Devils endeavour if possible, to discover *Moses's Body*, or place of its burial, that they might draw *Israel* to commit Idolatry in worshipping at his Tomb (as our Popish Forefathers did at *Thomas Becket's* in *Kent*) from the Veneration they had to him as their Law giver.

4. The Devils acting against *Job*, *Chap. I.* and 2. and what he did to the *Gadarene Swine*, &c. shew his great power. So that we may conclude, had the Devils liberty to reveal all that they know of the affairs of mankind, or to do all that is in their power to perform, they would bring dreadful confusions and desolations upon the World.

Sect. 2. The way God governs Devils is by Chains. *2. Pet. 2.4.* *Jude 6.* *Rev. 10. 1, 2, 7, 8.* whereby they are kept Prisoners. Men are governed by Laws, by convictions of Conscience. *Rom. 2. 12, 13, 14, 15.* By Scripture Rules, Humane Laws, and also by God's Spirit. *1 John 2. 20.* But Devils have no such Laws, or tenderness of Conscience to bridle or restrain them. But the Lord hath his Chains, which are called Everlasting, and are always lasting; so that they are never wholly without a Chain. This Chain is sometimes greater and shorter, other times lesser and

longer

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longer, as the Lord pleaseth, for his own Glory, Rev. 20. 1, 2, 7, 8. For as the wrath of man praiseth the Lord and the remainder of wrath he hath restrain, Psal. 76. 10 So may we say of the Devils wrath.

Sect. 3. The Devil is full of malice against man, and frames his design against him chiefly to destroy his Soul, as, 1. Pet. 5. 8 2 Cor. 11. 3. and other Scriptures abundantly testify. Hence probably at sometimes he doth not all the hurt to mans Body that he could, lest thereby he should awaken man to repentance and prayer; he seeks to keep men in a false peace. Luk. 11. 21. Yet at other times he disturbs and afflicts men in Body and Estate; as Scripture and experience shew. Among the Devices Satan useth to ruine man, one is to allure him into such a familiarity with him that by Sorceries, Inchantments, Divinations, and such like, he may lead them captive at his pleasure. This snare of his we are warned against. Deut. 18. 10, 11. and in other Scriptures. This Sin of men hearkening after Satan in these ways, is called Witchcraft; of which it is my purpose to treat: But first I shall speak something Historically what hath been done in New-England, in prosecution of persons suspected of this Crime.

Sect. 4. Several persons have been Charged

ged with and suffered for the Crime of Witchcraft in the Governments of the *Massachusetts, New Haven, or Stratford and Connecticut*, from the year 1646. to the year 1692.

Sect. 5. The first was a Woman^t of *Charlestown, Anno. 1647. or 48.* She was suspected partly because that after some angry words passing between her & her Neighbours, some mischief befel such Neighbours in their Creatures, or the like: partly because some things suppoed to be bewitched, or have a Charm upon them, being burned, she came to the fire and seemed concerned.

The day of her Execution, I went in company of some Neighbours,^t who took great pains to bring her to confession & repentance. But she constantly professed her self innocent of that crime: Then one prayed her to consider if God did not bring this punishment upon her for some other crime, and asked, if she had not been guilty of Stealing many years ago; she answered, *she had stolen something, but it was long since, and she had repented of it, and there was Grace enough in Christ to pardon that long agoe; but as for Witchcraft she was wholly free from it, and so she said unto her Death.*

Sect. 6. Another that suffered on that account some time after, was a *Dorchester Woman.* And upon the day of her Execution

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Mr. *Thompson* Minister at *Brantry*, and *J. P.* her former Master took pains with her to bring her to repentance And she utterly denyed her guilt of Witchcraft; yet justified God for bringing her to that punishment: for she had when a single woman play'd the harlot, and being with Child used means to destroy the fruit of her body to conceal her sin & shame, and although she did not effect it, yet she was a Murderer in the sight of God for her endeavours, and shewed great penitency for that sin; but owned nothing of the crime laid to her charge.

Sect. 7. Another suffering in this kind was a Woman of *Cambridge*, against whom a principal evidence was a *Watertown* Nurse, who testified, that the said *Kendal* (so was the accused called) did bewitch to Death a Child of *Goodman Genings* of *Watertown*; for the said *Kendal* did make much of the Child, and then the Child was well, but quickly changed its colour and dyed in a few hours after. The Court took this evidence among others, the said *Genings* not knowing of it. But after *Kendal* was Executed (who also denyed her guilt to the Death,) Mr. *Rich. Brown* knowing & hoping better things of *Kendal*, asked *Genings* if they suspected her to bewitch their Child, they answered No. But they judge'd the true cause of the Childs Death to be this, viz. The Nurse had the night before carry'd out the Child and

kept it abroad in the Cold a long time, when the red gum was come out upon it, & the Cold had struck in the red gum, and this they judged the cause of the Childs death. And that said *Kendal* did come in that day and make much of the Child, but they apprehended no wrong to come to the Child by her. After this the said Nurse was put into Prison for Adultery, and there delivered of her base Child, and Mr. *Brown* went to her and told her, *It was just with God to leave her to this wickedness, as a punishment for her Murdering goodly Kendal by her false witness bearing.* But the Nurse dyed in Prison, and so the matter was not farther inquired into.

There was another Executed of *Boston Anno 1656.* for that crime. And two or three of *Springfield*, one of which confessed; and said the occasion of her familiarity with Satan was this: She had lost a Child and was exceedingly discontented at it, and longed; *Oh that she might see her Child again!* And at last the Devil in likeness of her Child came to her bed side and talked with her, and asked to come into the bed to her, and she received it into the bed to her that night and several nights after, and so entred into covenant with Satan and became a Witch. This was the only confessor in these times in this Government.

See, 8. Another at *Hartford*, viz. *Mary*

Johnson, mentioned in Remarkable Providences, p. 62, 63 Confessed her self a Witch. Who upon discontent & flouthfulness agreed with the Devil to do her work for her, and fetch up the Swine. And upon her immoderate laughter at the running of the Swine, as the Devil drove them, as she her self said, was suspected & upon examination confessed. I have also heard of a Girl at *New Haven* or *Stratford*, that confessed her guilt. But all others denyed it unto the death unless one *Greensmith*, at *Hartford*.

SECT. 9. But it is not my purpose to give a full relation of all that have suffered for that Sin, or of all the particulars charged upon them, which probably is now impossible, many witnessing *Viva voce*, those particulars which were not fully recorded. But that I chiefly intend is to shew the principles formerly acted upon in Convicting of that Crime; which were such as these.

1. The first great principle laid down by a person Eminent for Wisdom, Piety and Learning was; That the Devil could not assume the shape of an innocent person in doing mischief unto mankind: for if the Lord should suffer him in this, he would subvert the course of humane Justice, by bringing men to suffer for what he did in their Shapes.

2. *Witchcraft* being an habitual Crime, one single witness to one Act of *Witchcraft*, and a
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nother single witness to another such fact, made two witnesses against the Crime and the party suspected.

3. There was searching of the bodies of the suspected for such like teats, or spots (which writers speak of) called the Devils marks ; and if found, these were accounted a presumption at least of guilt in those that had them.

4. I observed that people laid great weight upon this ; when things supposed to be bewitched were burnt, and the suspected person came to the fire in the time of it. Although that Eminent person above said condemned this way of tryal, as going to the Devil to find the Devil.

5. If after anger between Neighbours mischief followed, this oft bred suspicion of Witchcraft in the matter. In fine, the presumptions and convictions used in former times were for substance the same which we may read of in *Keeble* of the Common Law, and in *Bernard*, & other Authors of that subject.

Sect. 10. About 16 or 17. years since was accused a Woman of *Newbury*, and upon her tryal the Jury brought her in Guilty. Yet the Governour *Simon Bradstreet* Esq and some of the Magistrates reprieved her, being unsatisfied in the Verdict upon these grounds.

1. They were not satisfied that a Specter doing mischief in her likeness, should be imputed to her person, as a ground of guilt.

2. They did not esteem one single witness to one fact, and another single witness to another fact, for two witnesses, against the person in a matter Capital. She being reprimed, was carried to her own home, and her Husband (who was esteemed a Sincere and understanding Christian by those that knew him) desired some Neighbour Ministers, of whom I was one, to meet together and discourse his Wife; the which we did: and her discourse was very Christian among us, and still pleaded her innocence as to that which was laid to her charge. We did not esteem it prudence for us to pass any definitive Sentence upon one under her circumstances, yet we inclined to the more charitable side.

In her last Sickness she was in much darkness & trouble of Spirit, which occasioned a Judicious friend to examine her strictly, Whether she had been guilty of *Witchcraft*, but she said No: But the ground of her trouble was some impatient & passionate Speeches and Actions of hers while in Prison, upon the account of her suffering wrongfully; whereby she had provoked the Lord, by putting some contempt upon his word. And in fine, she sought her pardon and comfort from God in Christ, and dyed so far as I understood, praying to and resting upon God in Christ for Salvation.

Sept. 11. The next that Suffered was an

Irish Woman of Boston, suspected to bewitch *John Goodwins Children*, who upon her Tryal did in *Irish* (as was testified by the Interpreters) confess her self guilty, and was condemned out of her own mouth; (as Christ saith, *Luk. 19.22. Out of thine own mouth will I Judge thee.*) The History of which is published by Mr. *Cotton Mather*, (and attested by the other Ministers of *Boston & Charlestown*,) in his Book, Entituled, *Memorable Providences*, Printed Anno 1689. Thus far of the History of Witches before the year, 1692.

CHAPTER II.

I. IN the latter end of the year 1691. Mr. *Samuel Paris*, Pastor of the Church in *Salem-Village*, had a Daughter of Nine, and a Neice of about Eleven years of Age, sadly Afflicted of they knew not what Distempers; and he made his application to Physitians, yet still they grew worse: And at length one Physician gave his opinion, that they were under an Evil Hand. This the Neighbours quickly took up, and concluded they were bewitched. He had also an Indian Man servant, and his Wife who afterwards confessed, that without the knowledge of their Master or Mistress, they had taken some of the Afflicted persons Urine, and mixing it with meal had made a Cake, & baked it, to find out the Witch, as they said.

After this, the Afflicted persons cryed out of the Indian Woman, named *Tituba*, that she did pinch, prick, and grievously torment them, and that they saw her here and there, where no body else could. Yea they could tell where she was, and what she did, when out of their humane sight. These Children were bitten and pinched by invisible agents; their arms, necks, and backs turned this way and that way, and returned back again, so as it was impossible for them to do of themselves, and beyond the power of any Epileptick Fits, or natural Disease to effect. Sometimes they were taken dumb, their mouths stopped, their throats choaked, their limbs wracked and tormented so as might move an heart of stone, to sympathize with them, with bowels of compassion for them. I will not enlarge in the description of their cruel Sufferings, because they were in all things afflicted as bad as *John Goodwins* Children at *Boston*, in the year 1689. So that he that will read *Mr. Mathers* Book of *Memorable Providences*, page 3. &c. may Read part of what these Children, and afterwards sundry grown persons suffered by the hand of Satan, at *Salem Village*, and parts adjacent, *Anno* 1691, 2. Yet there was more in these Sufferings, than in those at *Boston*, by pins invisibly stuck into their flesh, pricking with Irons, (As in part published in a Book Printed 1693. viz. *The Wonders of the Invisible World*.)

Mr. *Paris* seeing the distressed condition of his Family, desired the presence of some Worthy Gentlemen of *Salem*, and some Neighbour Ministers to consult together at his House; who when they came, and had enquired diligently into the Sufferings of the Afflicted, concluded they were preternatural, and leared the hand of Satan was in them.

II. The advice given to Mr. *Paris* by them was, that he should sit still and wait upon the Providence of God to see what time might discover; and to be much in prayer for the discovery of what was yet secret. They also Examined *Tituba*, who confessed the making a Cake, as is above mentioned, and said her Mistress in her own Country was a Witch, and had taught her some means to be used for the discovery of a Witch and for the prevention of being bewitched, &c. But said that she her self was not a Witch.

III. Soon after this, there were two or three private Fasts at the Ministers House, one of which was kept by sundry Neighbour Ministers, and after this, another in Publick at the Village, and several days afterwards of publick Humiliation, during these molestations, not only there, but in other Congregations for them. And one General Fast by Order of the General Court, observed throughout the Colony,

Colony to seek the Lord that he would rebuke Satan, and be a light unto his people in this day of darkness.

But, I return to the History of these troubles. In a short time after other persons who were of age to be witnesses, were molested by Satan, and in their fits cryed out upon *Tituba* and Goody O. & S. G. that they or Specters in their Shapes did grievously torment them; hereupon some of their Village Neighbours complained to the Magistrates at *Salem*, desiring they would come and examine the afflicted & accused together; the which they did: the effect of which examination was, that *Tituba* confessed she was a Witch, and that she with the two others accused did torment & bewitch the complainers, and that these with two others whose names she knew not, had their Witch-meeting together; relating the times when & places where they met, with many other circumstances to be seen at large. Upon this the said *Tituba* and O. & S. G. were committed to Prison upon suspicion of acting Witchcraft. After this the said *Tituba* was again examined in Prison, and owned her first confession in all points, and then was her self afflicted and complained of her fellow Witches tormenting of her, for her confession, and accusing them, and being searched by a Woman, she was found to have upon her body the marks of the Devils wounding of her.

IV. Here were these things rendred her confession credible. (1.) That at this examination she answered every question just as she did at the first. And it was thought that if she had feigned her confession, she could not have remembred her answers so exactly. A lyar we say, had need of a good memory, but truth being always consistent with it self is the same to day as it was yesterday. (2.) She seemed very penitent for her Sin in covenanting with the Devil. (3.) She became a sufferer her self, &c as she said for her confession. (4.) Her confession agreed exactly (which was afterwards verified in the other confessors) with the accusations of the afflicted. Soon after these afflicted persons complained of other persons afflicting of them in their fits, and the number of the afflicted and accused began to increase. And the success of Tituba's confession encouraged those in Authority to examine others that were suspected, and the event was, that more confessed themselves guilty of the Crimes they were suspected for. And thus was this matter driven on.

V. I observed in the prosecution of these affairs, that there was in the Justices, Judges &c others concerned, a conscientious endeavour to do the thing that was right. And to that end they consulted the Presidents of former times &c precepts laid down by Learned Writers about
Witch;

Witchcraft. As *Keeble* on the *Common Law*, *Chapt. Conjurat*ion, (an Author approved by the Twelve Judges of our Nation.) Also Sir, *Mathew Hales* tryal of Witches, Printed Anno 1682. *Glanvils* Collection of sundry tryals in *England & Ireland*, in the years 1658, 61, 63, 64, & 81. *Bernards* guide to Jurymen, *Baxter & R. Burton*, their Histories about Witches and their discoveries. *Cotton Mather's* Memorable Providences relating to Witchcrafts, Printed Anno 1689.

VI. But that which chiefly carried on this matter to such an height, was the increasing of confessors till they amounted to near about Fifty : and four or six of them upon their tryals owned their guilt of this crime, and were condemned for the same, but not Executed. And many of the confessors confirmed their confessions with very strong circumstances : As their exact agreement with the accusations of the afflicted ; their punctual agreement with their fellow confessors ; their relating the times when they covenanted with Satan, and the reasons that moved them thereunto ; their Witch meetings, and that they had their mock Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper, in some of them ; their signing the Devils book : and some shewed the Scars of the wounds which they said were made to fetch blood with, to sign the Devils book ; and some said they had

Imps

Imps to suck them, and shewed Sores raw where they said they were sucked by them.

VII. I shall give the Reader a tast of these things in a few Instances. The Afflicted complained that the Spectres which vexed them, urged them to set their Hands to a Book represented to them (as to them it seemed) with threatnings of great torments, if they signed not, and promises of ease if they obeyed.

Among these *D. H.* did as she said (which sundry others confessed afterwards) being overcome by the extremity of her pains, sign the Book presented, and had the promised ease; and immediately upon it a Spectre in her Shape afflicted another person, and said, I have signed the Book and have ease, now do you sign, and so shall you have ease. And one day this afflicted person pointed at a certain place in the room, and said, there is *D. H.* upon which a man with his Rapier struck at the place, though he saw no Shape; and the Afflicted called out, saying, you have wounded her side, and soon after the afflicted person pointed at another place, saying, there she is; whereupon a man struck at the place, and the afflicted said, you have given her a small prick about the eye. Soon after this, the said *D. H.* confessed her self to be made a Witch by signing the Devils Book as above said; and declared that

that she had afflicted the Maid that complained of her, and in doing of it had received two wounds by a Sword or Rapier, a small one about the eye, which she shewed to the Magistrates, and a bigger on the side of which she was searched by a discreet woman, who reported, that *D. H.* had on her side the sign of a wound newly healed.

This *D. H.* confessed that she was at a Witch Meeting at *Salem Village*, where were many persons that she named, some of whom were in Prison then or soon after upon suspicion of Witchcraft: And the said *G. B.* preached to them, and such a Woman was their Deacon, and there they had a Sacrament.

VIII. Several others after this confessed the same things with *D. H.* In particular *Goody F.* said (*Inter alia*) that she with two others (one of whom acknowledged the same) Rode from *Andover* to the same Village Witch meeting upon a stick above ground, and that in the way the stick brake, and gave the said *F.* a fall: whereupon, said she, I got a fall & hurt of which I am still sore. I happened to be present in Prison when this *F.* owned again her former confession to the Magistrates. And then I moved she might be further questioned about some particulars: It was answered the Magistrates had not time to stay longer; but I should have liberty to Examine her at the

ther by my self; The which thing I did; and I asked her if she rode to the Meeting on a Stick; she said, yea. I enquired what she did for Viſuals; ſhe answered, that ſhe carried Bread and Cheeſe in her pocket, and that ſhe and the *Andover* Company came to the Village before the Meeting began, and ſat down together under a tree and eat their food, and that ſhe drank water out of a Brook to quench her thirſt. And that the Meeting was upon a plain graſſy place, by which was a Cart path, and ſandy ground in the path, in which were the tracks of Horſes feet. And ſhe alſo told me how long they were going and returning. And ſome time after told me, ſhe had ſome trouble upon her ſpirit, and when I enquired what? ſhe ſaid, ſhe was in fear that G. B. and M. C. would kill her; for they appeared unto her (in Spectre, for their perſons were kept in other Rooms in the Priſon) and brought a ſharp pointed iron like a ſpindle, but four ſquare, and threatned to ſtab her to death with it; becauſe ſhe had confeſſed her Witchcraft, and told of them, that they were with her, and that M. C. above named was the perſon that made her a Witch. About a month after the ſaid F. took occaſion to tell me the ſame Story of her fears that G. B. and E. C. would kill her, and that the thing was much upon her Spirits.

IX. It was not long before *M. L.* Daughter of said *F.* confessed that she rode with her Mother to the said Witch Meeting, and confirmed the substance of her Mothers Confession. At another time, *M. L.* junior the Grand Daughter, aged about seventeen years, confessed the substance of what her Grand mother and Mother had related, and declareth that when they, with *E. C.* rode on a stick or pole in the Air, She the said Grand-Daughter with *R. C.* Rode upon another ; (and she said *R. C.* acknowledged the same) and that they set their hands to the Devils Book. And (*inter alia*) said, *O Mother, why did you give me to the Devil? twice or thrice over.* The Mother said, she was sorry at the heart for it, it was through that wicked one. Her Daughter bid her repent and call upon God : And said *Oh Mother, your wishes are now come to pass for how often have you wished that the Devil would fetch me away alive? And then said Oh! my heart will break within me ;* Then she wept bitterly, crying out, *O Lord comfort me and bring out all the Witches* And she said to her Grandmother, *O Grandmother, why did you give me to the Devil? Why did you perswade me, O Grandmother do not deny it.* Then the Grandmother gave account of several things about their confederates and acts of Witchcraft too long to rehearse.

CHAPTER III.

NExtly I will insert the Confession of a man about Forty years of Age, *W. B.* which he wrote himself in Prison, and sent to the Magistrates, to confirm his former Confession to them, *viz* God having called me to Confess my sin and Apostasy in that fall in giving the Devil advantage over me, appearing to me like a Black, in the evening to set my hand to his Book, as I have owned to my shame He told me that I should not want so doing. At Salem Village, there being a little off the Meeting-House, about and hundred five Blades, some with Rapiers by their side, which was called and might be more for ought I know by B. and Bu. and the Trumpet sounded, and Bread and Wine which they called the Sacrament, but I had none; being carried over all on a Stick, never being at any other Meeting. I being at Cart a Saturday last, all the day, of Hay and English Corn, the Devil brought my Shape to Salem, and did afflict M. S. and R. F. by clitching my hand; and a Sabbath day my Shape afflicted A. M. and at night afflicted M. S. and A. M. E. I. and A. F. have been my Enticers to this great damnation, as one have owned and charged her Sister with the same. And the design was to destroy Salem Village, and to begin at the Ministers House, and to destroy the Church of God, and to set up Satans Kingdom, and then all will be well.

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And

And now I hope God in some measure has made me something sensible of my sin and apostasy, begging pardon of God, and of the Honourable Magistrates, and all Gods people, hoping and promising by the help of God, to set to my heart and hand to do what in me lyeth to destroy such wicked worship, humbly begging the prayers of all Gods People for me, I may walk humbly under this great affliction, and that I may procure to my self, the sure mercies of David, and the blessing of Abraham. Concerning this Confession. (1) Note it was his own free act in Prison. (2) He saith the Devil like a Black] This he had before explained to be like a Black man (3) That on a certain day was heard in the Air the sound of a Trumpet, at Salem Village nigh the Meeting-Houle, and upon all enquiry it could not be found that any mortal man did sound it. (4) The three persons he saith the Devil in his Shape afflicted, had been as to the times and manner afflicted as he confessed (5) That E. K. confessed as much as W. B. chargeth her with. (6) Many others confessed a Witch Meeting, or Witch meetings at the Village as well as he.

Note also that these Confessors did not only witness against themselves, but against one another; and against many it not all those that Suffered for that Crime. As for example when G. B. was Tyled, seven or eight of these Confessors severally called, said, they knew of the said B. and saw him at a Witch-Meeting

at the Village, and heard him exhort the Company to pull down the Kingdom of God, and set up the Kingdom of the Devil. He denied all, yet said he justified the Judges and Jury in Condemning of him; because there were so many positive witnesses against him; But said he dyed by false Witnesses. I seriously spake to one that witnessed (of his Exhorting at the Witch Meeting at the Village) saying to her; you are one that bring this man to Death, if you have charged any thing upon him that is not true, recal it before it be too late, while he is alive. She answered me, she had nothing to charge her self with, upon that account.

M. C. had to witness against her, two or three of her own Children, and several of her Neighbours that said they were in confederacy with her in their Witchcraft.

A. F. Had three of her Children, and some of the Neighbours, her own Sister, and a Servant, who confessed themselves Witches, and said, she was in confederacy with them. But alas, I am weary with relating particulars; those that would see more of this kind, let them have recourse to the Records.

By these things you see how this matter was carried on, viz. chiefly by the complaints and accusations of the Afflicted, Bewitched ones, as it was supposed, and then by the Confessions of the Accused, condemning themselves,

selves, and others. Yet experience shewed, that the more there were apprehended, the more were still Afflicted by Satan, and the number of Confessors increasing, did but increase the number of the Accused, and the Executing some, made way for the apprehending of others; for still the Afflicted complained of being tormented by new objects as the former were removed. So that those that were concerned, grew amazed at the numbers and quality of the persons accused and feared that Satan by his wiles had inwrapped innocent persons under the imputation of that Crime. And at last it was evidently seen that there must be a stop put, or the Generation of the Children of God would fall under that condemnation.

Henceforth therefore the Juries generally acquitted such as were Tried, fearing they had gone too far before. And Sir *William Phipps* Governour, Reprieved all that were Condemned, even the Confessors, as well as others. And the Confessors generally fell off from their Confessions; some saying, they remembered nothing of what they said; others said they had belied themselves and others. Some broke Prison and ran away, and were not strictly searched after, some acquitted, some dismissed and one way or other all that had been accused were set or left at liberty.

And although had the times been calm, the condition

condition of the Confessors might have called for a *melius inquirendum*; yet considering the combustion and confusion this matter had brought us unto; it was thought safer to under do than over do, especially in matters Capital, where what is once compleated cannot be retrieved: but what is left at one time, may be corrected at another, upon a review and clearer discovery of the state of the Case. Thus this matter issued somewhat abruptly.

CHAPTER IV.

Here was generally acknowledged to be an error (at least on the one hand) but the Querie is, Wherein?

A. 1. I have heard it said, That the Presidents in *England* were not so exactly followed, because in those there had been previous quarrels and threatnings of the Afflicted by those that were Condemned for Witchcraft; but here, say they, not so. To which I answer.

1. In many of these cases there had been antecedent personal quarrels, and so occasions of revenge; for some of those Condemned, had been suspected by their Neighbours several years, because after quarrelling with their Neighbours, evils had befallen those Neighbours. As may be seen in the Printed Tryals of S. M. and B. B. and others: See *Wonders of the Invisible World*, Page 105. to 137. And there

there were other like Cases not Printed.

2. Several confessors acknowledged they engaged in the quarrels of other their confederates to afflict persons. As one *Timothy Swan* suffered great things by Witchcrafts, as he supposed and testified. And several of the confessors said they did so to torment him for the sake of one of their partners who had some offence offer'd her by the said *Swan*. And others owned they did the like in the behalf of some of their confederates.

3. There were others that confessed their fellowship in these works of darkness, was to destroy the Church of God (as is above in part rehearsed) which is a greater piece of revenge, then to be avenged upon one particular person.

2. It may be queried then, *How doth it appear that there was a going too far in this affair?*

A 1. By the numbers of the persons accused which at length increased to about an hundred, and it cannot be imagined that in a place of so much knowledge, so many in so small a compass of Land should so abominably leap into the Devils lap at once.

2. The quality of several of the accused was such as did bespeak better things, and things that accompany Salvation. Persons whose blameless and holy lives before did testify for them. Persons that had taken great pains to bring up their Children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord: Such as we had Charity for, as for our

own Souls: and Charity is a Christian duty commended to us. 1 Cor. 13. *Chapt.* Col. 3. 14. and in many other Scriptures.

3. The number of the afflicted by Satan dayly increased, till about Fifty persons were thus vexed by the Devil. This gave just ground to suspect some mistake, which gave advantage to the accuser of the Brethren to make a breach upon us.

4. It was considerable that Nineteen were Executed, and all denied the Crime to the Death. and some of them were knowing persons, & had before this been accounted blameless livers. And it is not to be imagined, but that if all had been guilty, some would have had so much tenderness as to seek Mercy for their Souls in the way of Confession & sorrow for such a Sin. And as for the condemned confessors at the Bar, (they being reprieved) we had no experience whether they would stand to their Self-condemning confessions, when they came to dye.

5. When this prosecution ceased, the Lord so chained up Satan, that the afflicted grew presently well. The accused are generally quiet, and for five years since, we have no such molestations by them.

6. It sways much with me that I have since heard and read, of the like mistakes in other places. As in *Suffolk* in *England* about the year 1645. was such a prosecution, until they

saw that unless they put a stop it would bring all into blood and confusion. The like hath been in France, till 900. were put to Death. And in some other places the like ; So that N. England is not the only place circumvented by the wiles of the wicked and wisely Serpent in this kind.

Wierus de Præstigiis Demonum, p. 678 Relates, That an Inquisitor in the Subalpine Valleys, enquired after Women Witches, and consumed above an hundred in the Flames, and daily made new offerings to Vulcan of those that needed Helebores more than Fire. Until the Country people rose and by force of Arms bindred him, and refer the matter to the Bishop. Their Husbands men of good Faith affirmed that in that very time they said of them, that they played and danced under a tree, they were in bed with them.

R. Burton of Witches &c. p. 158. Saith, That in Chelmsford in Essex, Anno 1645. were Thirty tryed at once before Judge Coniers, and Fourteen of them banged, and an hundred more contained in several Prisons in Suffolk & Essex.

If there were an Error in the proceedings in other places, and in N. England, it must be in the principles proceeded upon in prosecuting the suspected, or in the misapplication of the principles made use of. Now as to the case at Salem, I conceive it proceeded from some mistaken principles made use of ; for the evincing whereof, I shall instance some principles made use

use of here, and in other Countrys also, which I find defended by learned Authors writing upon that Subject.

C H A P T E R. V.

I. **I**T hath been believed that Satan cannot assume the Shape of an Innocent person, and in that Shape doe mischief to the bodies, or estates of mankind.

This *maxim* hath been as the *Primum mobile*, turning the wheel of accusation upon persons condemned for this Crime in *England* and else where, (so far as my reading goeth.) See *Baxter* and *Glanvil*, and other Authors on this Subject. For the inference drawn from hence was, That when a person suffers by Diabolical agents and is supposed to be bewitched, and in their sufferings see a Spectre in the exact image of any person, that person so represented must be accounted the Witch.

Keeble on the *Common Law*, gives this for a ground to suspect a person for a Witch. Their Apparition to the sick party in their fits &c.

In opposition to this *Maxim*, I shall lay down three Propositions.

1. Satan may and often hath represented to the Imaginations of persons under bodily afflictions by him, the shape or image of innocent persons hurting them.

2. Satan can represent himself to mankind in a bodily visible likeness,

3. Satans representing himself to the sight of men in the shape of innocent persons doing mischief to man, may be without prejudice to or perverting of Gods Ordinance of Civil Justice.

1. Satan may represent himself to the Imaginations &c. I say *Imagination*; for the Apparition of a person to the sick (or obsessed) person in their fits, may be often times only to their Imaginations. Some of our afflicted persons have when they come out of their fits declared, that in them they saw an army of men in rank & file; other times the representation of heavenly beauty, white men; and then again fire and hellish torments. Now all these might be only the working of their Phantasies, by Satans presentations to Imagination, and the like may be of other things and persons. Yea some such have complained of their own Parents seeming to them to torment them, which might be the abuse of Phantasie.

Yea persons not under such Diabolical impressions, may by some disease or sores and vapours thence ascending, have the Images of persons represented to their Imagination.

Mr. John Phillips of Boston, told me, That he had a sore swelled Legg, and lying in the warm bed with Eyes open, he saw, as he thought, Women in silk cloathing come to his bed side, and spake to them: but a man that stood by said there were no Women; whereupon he suspected the man of Conjur-
ring

ring tricks ; which moved him to send for a Physician three Miles off (for it was nigh Black point) and all the time the Messenger was gone, was he haunted with these Women, as they seemed to him. The Physician sent word, that the vapours ascending from his sore Legg had caused a water in his Eyes, and disturbance in his Braines, by means whereof he was troubled with such Visions ; and sending an eye water to wash his eyes with, and a cordial to take inwardly ; upon the use of these, this disturbance vanished in half a quarter of an hour. If a disease may do this, what may Satan working upon bodily distempers and vapours impose upon the Imaginations ?

2. *Prop.* Satan can assume a bodily likeness and represent himself therein to mans bodily eyes, that is, if the Lord permit him.

1. He that could make a fire in the Air to come down upon *Jobs* Sheep, &c. *Job* 1. 16. Can make a visible Shape and appear, and act in it as he did in that fire to consume Servants and Sheep : But so did Satan. Therefore.

2. He that could by *Pharaobs* Sorcerers represent to him Serpents, Frogs & Blood ; and to *Saul* dead *Samuels* Shape ; can assume a bodily likeness, &c. but so did Satan, as *Exod.* 7. & 8. *Chap.* 1 *Sam.* 28. of which more hereafter, &c.

3. Our Saviour signifies that a Spirit may appear in likeness of a man. *Matth.* 14 26, 27. v. compar'd with *Luk.* 24. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40. For, (1.) The disciples supposed the Person of Christ to

to be a Spirit. *Phantasma*, that is a Spectre. *Pneuma*, a Spirit *i. e.* in bodily likeness, which shews they had such an apprehension, that a Spirit could assume a visible bodily likeness. (2.) Christ in answer doth not say, there can be no such visible representation; but seeks to satisfy them, by convincing them that it is himself: *And therefore shews them his hands and feet. Luk. 24.* thereby to convince them that he is not a Spirit. (3.) Christ speaks of a Spirit in general, which comprehends an evil Spirit as well as a good one.

4. That Satan appeared to our Saviour when tempted, *Mat. 4. 3.* at the end of forty days in a visible Shape, I prove by these arguments.

1. It's said Christ was tempted of Satan all the forty days, *Mark 1. 13.* and *Luk. 4. 2.* yet *Mat. 4. 2, 3.* It's said when he had fasted forty days, and was hungry, the Tempter came to him (*prosethion auto*) which implies another manner of coming to him, and tempting of him, than had been the forty days before, and now he spake. *Eipen. Mat. 4. 3, 6, 9. Legei.* These expressions note Satan speaking with an audible voice, which implies a visible bodily shape speaking.

2. He said *these Stones. Mat. 4 & Luke 4.* This Stone, as if he had pointed with the finger, or bodily Organ at some peculiar Stone or Stones, as a corporeal agent.

3. It is said, Satan taketh Christ up into the Holy City, setteth him on the Pinnacle, taketh

him up into an high Mountain, and sheweth him, brought him to *Jerusalem*. These words Taking, Bringing, Setting, (in Greek, παραλαμβάνει, ἵσχει ἀναγκάζων, ἡγάγε) are words which are used to note the actings of one bodily agent to another usually.

5. Satan sheweth to the Man Christ, all the *Kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them, in a moment of time* (*En stigme Chronou*) in one poynt of time. Now we know the World is round, and that a man can see but a small part of it at once. Therefore that which Satan set before the eyes of Christ, was not all the Kingdoms of the World themselves, but an image and representation of them, and of their Glory, which Satan had framed. And of these might Satan say, as, *Luk. 4 6. All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it.* If then Satan can make an Image of the Kingdoms of the World, and of their glory which is the greater, then can he make the Image of a man, which is the lesser, and appear to man in such an image: And so appearing can speak and act in and by it as he spake and acted of old by the Serpent unto *Eve*, and by the Possessed in the Gospel. Whether Satan makes such a visible body by gathering the rays called *Species Visibiles*, which flow from every body, whereby its shadow is represented in a Looking-glass and Water, or
as

as the rays of the Sun invisibly scattered in the Air are by a burning glass contracted and condensed so as to kindle a Fire, or by other means, I determine not. But History as well as the Scripture abundantly testifie, that such Spirits, or Aerial Bodies have appeared unto men, called Apparitions or Ghosts. See *Increase Matthers Remarkable Providences, Baxter of Apparitions*, and other Authors. I have also spoken with very credible persons of discretion and piety that have told me they have seen such Apparitions when in their perfect health and senses. But I spare to enlarge.

2. *Proposition* is, Satan may represent himself doing mischief in the shape of an innocent person, without prejudice to, or perverting of Gods Ordinance of Civil Justice.

1. If Satan (can assume the likeness of a man, as is above proved) then it's alike easy in it self for him to personate an innocent, as a guilty person, if we look to his natural power : For according to natural causes by which he worketh, ones Image is as easily formed as the others. And no doubt he will sometimes personate the innocent, unless the Lord restrain him.

2. That Satan hath so done is proved by Mr. *Increase Matther*, in his *Cases of Conscience*, Printed Anno 1693. by several Histories. To which I shall add one out of *Wierus de Prestigiis*, &c. p. 661.

Among us (saith he) A Pretor went to a Conjuror, and by his discovery apprehended many Women, and had them burned (that is for Witches) at last the Conjuror told him, he would shew him one Witch more if he would not take it amiss, and impeached the Pretors Wife, and prefixed an hour, when he should see her in a Dance with other Witches. The Pretor consents and calls his friends and kindred to feast with his Wife at that time, and rising from the Table, commands his Wife and Friends to sit still at the Table till he returned. Being carried by the Conjuror where he pleased, he shewed him a Company of Witches in their Dances and unlawful pleasures, and the Pretors Wife with them. Then returning home, he found his friends in the same order he left them, and his Wife with them, and by the testimony of all present, found upon studious enquiry, that his Wife had kept her place in his absence. He opened the matter to them, requesting for punishing the innocent.

3 Satan personating the innocent in doing mischief is no prejudice to Civil Justice, if it can be found out that the mischief so done is the act of Satan, and not the act of the person represented. For what wickedness Satan doth, Satan shall be judged for, and what man doth, man must be judged for. Every one shall bear his own burthen. Gal 6 5. And Satans wickedness herein may be found, (most commonly, if not always) by such means as these, if thorough care and diligence be used.

1. If it can be proved that the party represented was in another place at that time, As was the case of the *Pretors Wife* above mentioned.

2. If when the afflicted complain they see *John* or *Thomas* upon them, pinching, or hurting of them or others, can neither see any person there, nor by feeling perceive any flesh or bones, they may conclude there's not the very person complained of, but either an abused imagination, or the Devil personating to the afflicted the person complained of. For Christs rule is, *Luk 24. 39 A Spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have.*

3. If the supposed person come into the room through the Key hole, or when there is no place open for a person to come in by, then conclude, its not the person but the Devil seen there. A Spectre can come in by a pin-hole: but Satan cannot bring in the body of a man or woman in at such a place: for if so then Satan could work a miracle properly so called, which he cannot do. When Christ came bodily into the midst of the room the doors being shut. *Job 20. 19, 20.* It was a miracle beyond all Satans signs and lying wonders. The Gospel is confirmed by Gods testimony with signs and wonders and divers miracles. Such Satan cannot do, for then he could subvert our Gospels confirmation.

4. When a supposed person is seen in their
full

full proportion and then changed into the form of another Creature, as a Cat, &c. This is a Spectre not the person. The turning *Lots Wife* into a pillar of Salt was a proper Miracle beyond the power of Devil or Angel of themselves to perform. But a Spectre can change its shape like the Wind under Ice running upon the water. This well weighed will confute many fond Stories that have passed, that such a Woman is a Witch, for she was seen in her full proportion, and then turned into a Cat, and back at last into a Woman; for all this was either a phantasie in the brains, or a Phantasma before the Eyes

5. If a person (or so esteemed) pass by us on the soft Snow, or dirt, and leave no footsteps behind them, this is to be esteemed a spectre, and not the real person, unless the person were carried by Satan in the Air. This was brought for an Evidence against a Woman, that she was seen nigh *Malden* in a Moonshiny night passing on the Snow, and left no footsteps behind her; when she might be in her House at *Newbury*, and either the Phantasie of the Witness was abused, or a spectre passed by him in her Image. Yet if it had been her person so carried by Satan, this would not prove her a Witch, unless her consent were given to it. *Goodwins Children* were carried in the Air by Satan, as saith *Memo- rable Providences. P. 14, 15.*

6. If the prints of biting of teeth, pinching with fingers, pricking with pins or irons be made on the Bodies of the Afflicted, and no hand, mouth or Body can be seen or felt to do it, this is to be imputed to Satan, and not to a real person doing of it.

By these or such like means, due circumspection being used, when Satan personates the innocent, his fallacy and malice may be discovered, at least ordinarily. Yet if the Lord should suffer Satan so to act, and not be discovered after all means used to find the fallacy (which I never yet read or heard he did) this must be reckoned among the unsearchable acts of Divine Sovereignty, which men may humbly admire; but not make rules upon such a supposal for humane judicature to proceed upon. These premises considered we may infer, That if Satan may personate an innocent party to one tormented by him; then, if the Lord permit it, to two, yea to ten. And if once he may do so, then twice, yea twenty times, if suffered, and yet the person so represented be innocent. And all the danger of injustice being done to that innocent party ariseth not from Satans acting, so much as from mans mistaken faith and suspicion about Satans act.

Hence then we may confute a vulgar error of people, that will conclude, that such a Woman is, or was a Witch, for she was seen in the

the Air one night flying Southward, another
 time to a Vessel, and other times up into the
 Country. When all this time the Devil thro'
 Divine permission either did it, or imposed up-
 on the Imaginations of the Spectators. And
 here we may take notice, that a true faith is so
 pleasing to the Lord, that he doth great things
 for his Servants, for their faiths sake; so that
 Christ saith, *Mat. 8. 13 As thou hast believed,*
so be it done unto thee. All things are possible to
him that believeth. Great is thy faith, be it unto
thee, as thou wilt. Thy faith hath made thee whole.
Mark 9. 25. & 10 52. & 15 28. Why may
 not a false faith in these matters provoke the
 Lord to say unto us, *As you believe, be it unto*
you? And let Satan looke to do strange things
 as the Accuser of the Brethren, to mislead
 them to accuse one another.

CHAPTER VI.

ANother Principle much insisted on, is;
 That the Devil when he doth harm
 to persons in their Body or Estate, it is (at
 least most commonly, generally and frequent-
 ly) by the help of our Neighbour: That is,
 some Witch or Conjuror, or such like in Cove-
 nant with the Devil. Sir *Matthew Hale*, in
 his Printed Observations upon the Tryal of
 those Witches he Condemned, (Printed Anno
 1682.) draws this inference from hence, That

the Devil when he hurts the Body or Goods of men, is in some sort subject to Humane Justice, though not in himself, yet in his Covenant Servants, by whom he is set a work to do such mischiefs.

The unsoundness of this principle appeareth by the Scripture instances of Satans so afflicting man when we read of no Witch to set him on work. As,

1. When God let Satan loose to try *Jobs* patience, *Job* 1. & 2 Chap.

2. When Satan bound the Body of a Daughter of *Abraham* eighteen years.

3. When Satan tryed the affections of the *Gergesens*, and was Gods Instrument to punish their Worldliness by drowning their Swine, who ran violently down a steep place (as if they had been bewitched, according to the opinion of many now a days) into the Sea, being driven of the Devils.

4. We have many Instances of the possessed with the unclean Spirits that were tormented and vexed by Satan, to quicken men to prayer, *Mat.* 17. 21. and to shew Christs power.

5. Some by their own presumptuous dealing with Satan, have given him power, or at least opportunity to strip and wound them: as the *Exorcists*, *Acts* 19. 13. &c.

Seeing then we have so many instances of Satans afflicting without Witches help, and no clear Scripture instance of his afflicting mankind

mankind in Body, or Estate by Witchcraft; It's unsafe to conclude generally that those that are under Diabolical molestations are bewitched. For when persons are perswaded their Relations are bewitched, they presently enquire, who is the Witch? and who should they fasten their suspicions upon, but on these that the Afflicted cry out against in their fits?

Q. But is it not evident, that the Afflicted at Salem Village, and parts adjacent, Anno 1691, 2. were Bewitched?

A. Whether those sufferings by Satan proceeded at first from Witchcraft or no, I shall leave to a further disquisition.

But as for the most of those Sufferers, I conceive they were such as in the Gospel are called, *Daimonizomenoi*. *Mat. 4. 24. Dæmoniacki Dæmoniacks*: I do not mean in that degree of Internal Possession, as those out of whom the Spirits were cast out. *Mat. 8. 16.* But with such a degree of external possession or obsession of Satan, which rendred them like the *Demoniacks* mentioned, in many things.

1. As they were grievously vexed with the Devil. (*κακῶς δαιμονιζέταις*.) as the Damsel. *Matt 15. 22.* compare this with *Mark 7. 25.* She had an unclean Spirit. So were ours vexed with invisible agents, biting, pricking, pinching and vexing of them.

I will not say but among so many thus suffering, some of them at some time might

counterfeit part of their Sufferings, and it might be from Satans policy to intangle the whole affair. But for the most part they were as those we read of, *Luk. 6. 18. Vexed with unclean Spirits.*

2. We read, *Mat. 17. 15.* of them that oftentimes fell into the fire and into the water, being Lunatick; but were cast this way & that by an Evil Spirit. *Mark 9. 17, to 30.* So were some of ours by an evil spirit transported from place to place, and in danger of being burnt, or drowned, but that Satan was restrained, as in case above said

3. The possessed man, *Mark. 5. 4.* had more than humane strength in breaking fetters and chains. So some of these in their fits performed that which was above their own strength.

4. The possessed damsel, *Act. 16. 16.* did by the Devil soothsay; that is, discover secrets in a propheticall way: (she did *manteuein.*) So some of these did by the Devils means tell of persons and things, absent and future, as when such another fit should come again, &c. where such a person absent was, and what he did inso much that had they been *Sui juris*, persons free from Diabolical obsession, and overpowering force, they might justly have been questioned for dealing with a familiar Spirit. But the force they were under was their vindication, as it was here, *Act. 16. 16.*

5. The possessed of old were some of them exceeding fierce. *Mat. 8. 28.* So were some of these afflicted persons fierce, troublesome and mischievous in their fits, beyond their natural temper and behaviours at other times. From these things compared together, why may we not judge these demoniacks, as well as those in the Gospel? And that its possible for Satan in these times to afflict thus without Witches, as well as in those? Seeing these did also in their fits *some, gnash their teeth and pine away*, as he did, *Mark 9. 18.*

And here we may observe the weakness of the signs given by the *Common Law*, to know who is bewitched; (which signs as *Keeble* saith, are taken out of the tryals in *Lanchashire*, and from *Bernard* :)

For the first sign given is; The wasting of a person and the cause unknown : This sign is very fallible : for,

1. The wasting may proceed from an unknown disease. And the ignorance of Physicians may ascribe that to Witchcraft which proceeds from a natural hidden disease.

2. *Jobs* sore boyles from head to foot came from Satan without Witchcraft, and the cause of them was most probably hidden from the common practice of Physicians.

The second sign they give is, When two persons are taken together in the like strange fits. This may be a sign of persons possessed, and

happened often in the experiences at *Salem*, among the persons possessed, as abovesaid.

The third sign given is, When the afflicted party truly telleth what the suspected person is doing at a distance, This is rather a sign of a person possessed.

And we find the two men possessed, *Matth.* 8. 28. &c. had like fits, for both kept among the Tombs, both were exceeding fierce, so as to hinder persons passing that way, both together made the same outcry to Jesus, that he should not torment them. These things shew a unity among the Devils afflicting them: but no unity of Witches joyning with them.

Fourth sign is, When the afflicted out of their fits know nothing what they did, or said in them. But this (if our obsessed or possessed persons said truly) often fell out in the tormented at *Salem*.

Fifth sign, Supernatural strength in their fits. Now this is a sign of the possessed, *Mark* 5. 4. Who in their fits brake chaines and fetters.

Sixth sign is, When the afflicted vomit pins, nailes, irons, &c. To this I say, whether these pins, nailes, &c. are by the Devil brought invisibly to the mouths of the persons so vomiting and so cast out from their mouths, but not out of their stomacks or throats; or whether they are insensibly conveyed by the working of Satan into the stomacks or throats of the persons vomiting, and so vomited forth, neither the one
nor

nor the other, can certainly prove the vomiter bewitched, unless it be made manifest that Satan doth thus vex the party by confederacy with a Witch. But where Satan hath a permission to vex and possess a person he may do these things, as well as other things he did unto the possessed mentioned in the Gospels.

The seventh sign is, The afflicted person having the sight of the apparition of the suspected party, and when the mischief of a fit or the like following shortly after. Now it having been already proved, that Satan can represent, to those that are possessed, innocent persons: it is not to be wondered that Satan should represent to the eyes or imagination of a possessed sufferer, a Spectre representing a suspected innocent person just before he casteth them into a fit, especially seeing hereby he gains upon the credulity of the possessed, and their friends, for the accusing an innocent, and it may be a godly person; for this helps forward his design as the accuser of the brethren.
Rev. 12. 10.

I would then from these considerations infer, That if a party handled as in the seven particulars above expressed, cannot thereby be said to be bewitched, Then there is no need, unless somewhat else appear, to trouble our selves to enquire who is the Witch that troubleth such a party.

CHAPTER. VII.

3. **A** Nother principle improved in these Enquiries is, When the party suspected looks upon the parties supposed to be bewitched, and they are thereupon struck down into a fit, as if struck with a Cudgel. This bewitching by the eye is an opinion Seventeen Hundred years old,

Nescio quis teneros oculis mihi fascinat agnos. Virgil.

Mr. Gaul in his Book, Printed 1648. page 128. Saith, Some Witches by inspecting, or looking on, but to a glance, or squint, or peep at with an envious eye, is sufficient to effascinate. And we may find much use made of this experiment in Tryals in England mentioned by Baxter, Glanvil and Burton. And however this seemed a presumption at Salem Village, yet at length it was apparent to be a delusion of Satan. For this experiment was found at the Tryals of persons when the Accused sought to clear themselves, and it cannot be conceived that then they would act Witchcraft to hasten their own Condemnation: And no person can be said to act Witchcraft against their own will and consent.

Again, we read, *Mark 9. 20.* That when the possessed was brought unto Christ, and saw Christ, then the Spirit tare him, and he fell to the ground and wallowed foaming. So that

that the Devil chose this time and place to cast the possessed into a fit even in the presence of Christ. Let us then consider these Afflicted to be Demoniacks, and we must own, it's in Satans power to cast them into a fit in the presence, and upon the sight of the Accused. And if this may increase the suspicion against the Accused, it's for his interest to chuse such a time.

4. Another presumption made use of hath been to cause the suspected to touch the party supposed to be bewitched, and if that touch bring the party out of their fit, this hath been esteemed by many a strong suspicion at least, as may be read in some of the fore cited Authors.

And Mr. *Glauvil* supposeth a Philosophical reason for it, viz. that the Witch by the cast of her eye sends forth a Malefick Venome into the Bewitched to cast him into a fit, and therefore the touch of the hand doth by a sympathy cause that venome to return into the Body of the Witch again. As when a person is stung by a Snake, the application of the Body or flesh of the same Snake to the wound will draw back the poyson into its former fountain. But the truth is both these effects depend upon the Devils free agency: And he frames his things much according to the opinion of the Spectators, with intent to deceive. I never could see reason to justify

fy such a kind of Tryal (though allowed by *Bernard* as lawful to be used ;) but since we have more considered it, I look upon it very unwarrantable to be used, being as it were the putting a staff into the hand of Satan, to try what he will do with it. For the recovery of the party out of the Fit hereby must be from a natural or divine cause, or from the Devil. We cannot prove either of the two former, and if the third, its but the Devils testimony, and therefore not to be used by us.

5. Another practice hath been when the party suspected is in Prison, and the Afflicted cry out they are miserably tormented by them: If then the suspected party be bound, and the afflicted person thereupon, have ease or release of their fits, then this is a presumption that the suspected party is guilty. This was used at *Isanbal*, Anno 1661. (see *Glanvil*, pag 168.) and the success answered the expectation.

But this is no ground so much as of suspicion, because it depends either upon some physical efficacy in binding to give the party ease, or upon the precontract of the suspected made with Satan, or from the voluntary act of the Devil ceasing to afflict at such a time ; neither of the two former can be proved: not any physical vertue in the binding the party ; for how can cords bind a Spirit, and as for the

Contract

Contract with Satan, that remains yet to be proved, and if such there be, yet the terms of it are to us unknown ; and the Devil being a Lyar from the beginning, will keep or break his own promises, so as suites the interest of his Kingdom. So that in such cases we can ascribe the release of the afflicted only to Satans agency and policy by such a vile abusing the mischief of those which make the tryal.

6. The like is to be said when a Demonick pack finds ease of their fits upon the apprehending, or condemning, or Execution of the person complained against. For that ease may come by Satans policy, desisting his rage to confirm our error : or from Divine Favour in answer of prayer, or pity to the distressed.

C H A P T E R. VIII.

7. **A** Seventh principle is, If the party suspected appear in Spectre to the afflicted, and the afflicted give a blow with a knife, sword, &c. unto the Spectre (or some other in their behalf) and the Spectre seems wounded, or bleeding, or to have their garment torn, or slit by the blow received. And that the party Spectrally represented be presently searched, and there is found upon their body a wound, or blood, &c. on the same part of their body, or a rent, or cut upon the same part of the

the garment, which appeared upon the Spectre unto the afflicted. This hath been counted a strong evidence to prove the party suspected to be a confederate with Satan in afflicting the complainer. As by Judge *Archer* in *Coxes* case, Executed at *Taunton*, Anno 1663. (See *Glanvil* part 2. p. 196) But let us search this to the bottom; and there is no ground of suspicion in such a kind of probation. For the ground of the suspicion ariseth hence viz. That what wound or mark is given to the Spectre (that is to the Devils aerial assumed body) is translated thence unto the person setting this Spectre on work to afflict; or to their garments, if the mark be on that. But we have no sufficient ground to know this.

1. For if it must be so, it must be either (1.) From some sympathy in nature between the Spectre and the party represented by it. But this we have no ground in reason to conclude; for whence or how should such a sympathy be between an humane body, and the Devil in the Image or likeness of it? Or if it were, how can there come such a sympathy between the garment of a person and the Devil appearing in the likeness of that garment? Surely the garment was not in any league with Satan? (2.) Or this comes to pass by vertue of the Covenant between Satan and this confederate: if so we say, I ask how come we to know there is such an article in the bargain with the Devil?

vil? or if we know there were such an article in their agreement, how can we tell, that the Devil will stand to his own Covenant? Or, (3.) This comes to pass by the Immediate hand of God making such a translation of a wound &c. unto a Witch that they may thereby be discovered; which if so, it is preternatural if not supernatural. And we have no ground from Scripture to expect such a sign from God; and therefore to expect it is to be guilty of the sin of that Wicked Generation, that sought after a sign. *Matth. 16. 4. Which should not be given to them.* Or (4) This translation cometh (if there be any such) from the Devil as a free & powerful Spirit, afflicting the body or affecting the garment so marked: And if it be from hence, its the Devils testimony which ought to be of no credit with mankind.

2. The true state of this case seems to be this; That the person or garment so represented to the Afflicted by a Spectre was wounded, or bleeding, or cut or rent before. And the Devil knowing this, represents to the afflicted (or striker at the Spectre) that part of the Spectre which answers the Body wounded, or garment rent or torn, the Searchers finding such wounds upon, or rents about the person suspected are ready to conclude it was done by the stroke at the Spectre which was done before. I shall confirm this by instances.

There was at Ghelmsford, an Afflicted person,

son, that in her fits cryed out against a Woman, a Neighbour, which Mr. *Clark*, the Minister of the Gospel there could not believe guilty of such a Crime. And it hapned while that woman was milking her Cow, the Cow struck her with one horn upon her Forehead and fetched blood, and while she was bleeding, a Spectre in her likeness appeared to the party Afflicted, who pointing at the Spectre, one struck at the place, and the Afflicted said, you have made her forehead bleed. Hereupon some went to the woman, and found her forehead bloody, and acquainted Mr. *Clark* with it; who forthwith went to the woman, and asked how her forehead became bloody, and she answered by a blow of the Cows horn, as above said; whereby he was satisfied that it was a design of Satan to render an innocent person suspected.

Another instance was at *Cambridge*, about forty years since: There was a man much troubled in the night with Cats, or the Devil in their likeness haunting of him, whereupon he kept a light burning, and a Sword by him as he lay in bed; for he suspected a Widow woman to send these Cats or Imps by Witchcraft to bewitch him. And one night as he lay in bed, a Cat or Imp came within his reach, and he struck her on the back; and upon enquiry heard this Widow had a sore back: this confirmed his suspicion of the Widow,

dow, he supposing that it came from the wound he gave the Cat. But Mr. Day the Widows Chyrurgeon cleared the matter; saying, this Widow came to him and complained of a sore in her back, and because she could not see it, desired his help; and he found it to be a Boyl, and ripened and healed it as he used to do other Boyls. But while this was in cure, the supposed Cat was wounded as already rehearsed.

But some may say when such wounds or rents come, it's not the Spectre that's struck but the real person or garment is there present, but by vertue of the Charm, or Witchcraft, a mist is cast between the Witch and Spectators in the room, whereby the person becomes invisible to all of them except the bewitched sufferer. As some juglers have seemed to creep through a Tree or Log, when indeed its only upon the Tree or Log; but by inchantment a shadow of the Log or Cloud is cast over the Log between the Jugler and Spectators, whereby they are deceived.

I Answer, If it were so, then those that strike with Sword, or other Instrument, and wound the party might feel some body, or garment stopping the force of their blow; for a Body can be felt if it cannot be seen, as above shewed. But when the stricken instrument feels no harder substance than Air to stop its force, and there seems to be a person in the

way to the Afflicted's eye : We may conclude its but a Spectre, or deluded imagination.

C H A P T E R IX.

8. **I**F after Cursing there follows Death, or at least some mischief : This saith *Perkins* (in his Discourse of Witchcraft, Chap. 7. Sect. 2.) This is a presumption. For Witches are wont to practise their mischievous facts by cursing and banning. This also is a sufficient matter of Examination.

I acknowledge when persons curse or threaten others to kill them, or do other mischief to their Bodies or Estates, and the mischief threatened is performed as threatned ; here is ground so far to suspect the threatner, as to question them about it, unless it appeareth to be performed by some other person or cause. So if after Cursing there follows Death, &c. And it appeareth to be done by Witchcraft, this is a ground to suspect and examine the threatner, unless there be grounds to suspect some other Author of the Witchcraft. But as the proposition is laid down generally by Mr. *Perkins*, as a general rule I conceive it's unsafe.

1. Because such death, or mischiefs oftentimes proceed from other causes, so that there is no ground to impute them to Witchcraft. For,

1. Some persons are of such hasty spirits and unruly

le unruly tongues, that their mouth is dayly full of cursing and bitterness, *Rom. 3. 14.*

2. There be few House-keepers, where are many in Family and a Stock about them; but that by the hand of God, Death at some times enters upon some person in the Family, and Cattel sometimes dye by Diseases and Casualties: Who is there that hath an Estate, but at some times they meet with losses?

3. Hence it falls out that these calamities, some of them happen at or nigh some one time of their angry neighbours cursing, who had cursed them ten times before, or threatned them, and yet no such calamity ensued. And this their last threatning had no more influence upon the evil befalling the Family, than the ten causeless Curses that went before, as *Prov. 26. 2.* What then doth all this prove? A tongue set on fire, and it may be from hell; but not a Covenant with Hell to procure the calamities that befall their Neighbours.

Again, some are of such a suspicious temper, that they are apt to impute all sad accidents that do befall them, to proceed from Witchcraft, and thereby in suffering times are apt to be jealous of their Neighbours that come frequently to their Houses in their day of adversity, as causers of these afflictions, by some charming or enchantment.

Again, It may be Queried, Whether Satan may not sometimes take advantage upon the

times when neighbours contend with, and threaten those that live by them, to do some hurt to the Bodies or Goods of those threatened, that thereby he may cast upon the party threatened, the imputation of Sorcery. Doubtless as he is *the Accuser of the Brethren*, Rev. 12. He would so do if the Lord will permit him to indanger the life of the threatner. And who can tell but that the Lord may permit him at sometimes so to do, for a just punishment to such unbridled tongues? I remember, that above forty years ago, when there was a great discourse about Witches; *A very holy man heard his Wife say, she desired a sucking Pig; and he going to a Neighbours house, saw a Sow with a litter of Pigs, and took a phantasie to one of them in particular for his Wife, and asked the Owner for that Pig; the Owner denied him: Hereupon he went away in a great passion, very unsuitable to such a person. And that very Pig left its dam and Company, and followed this man to his home.* This was observed in the day of it, it was supposed Satan might have some hand in it, taking advantage upon the passion of so good a man, to render him suspected by such an accident if he could.

9. If any person, man or woman be notoriously defamed for such a party. This *Perkins (eodem loco)* makes a presumption. But in truth there is no weight in this, unless those neighbours among whom the suspected party lived

lived had good grounds for their suspicion : Because many persons have drunk in false principles about the tokens by which a Witch is to be known ; and judge of persons according to those false principles (some of which are above recited) which may asperse the most innocent and righteous person living. Our Saviour was slandered as if he *cast out Devils by Belzebub the Prince of Devils, Mat. 12: 24. And the Disciple is not above his Master, Mat. 10. 25.* Some persons will put an evil construction upon an innocent action, and so raise an evil fame against a person ; and then others believing it, are apt to look upon other actions with a squint eye, and through the multiplying glass of their own jealousies, make a Mole-hill seem a Mountain, to render an hated or despised neighbour evil spoken of.

10. If the party suspected be the Son or Daughter, or Man-servant, or Maid servant, or familiar friend, near Neighbour, or old Companion of a known and convicted Witch. This may be a presumption, saith *Perkins*. But unto all these it may be said, there is no more ground to suspect any person of this crime upon such relations or circumstances, then there is to presume a person is a Thief, or Murderer, or Drunkard, &c. because he is the Child, Servant, Neighbour, &c. of a Thief, Murderer, Drunkard, or the like, convicted

Criminal. Which may be, or may not be if the Lord incline the heart of him or her that is so related, to abhor such wickedness. As the Wheat and Tares grow together in the same Field : So Good and Wicked in the same Neighbourhood, Family ; yea, and lying in the same Bed, *so that one shall be taken, and the other left, Mat. 24. 40, 41. Luk. 17. 34, 35, 36.* The Lord saith, *The Son shall not dye for the sins of the Father, Ezek. 18. 14. & 21. ver.* If the Son, (Servant or Neighbour, or Companion) seeth the sins of his Father, &c. and doth not the like, &c. he shall not dye, &c. which shews that these so related may and sometimes do see and abhor the ways of wickedness, those so near unto them walk in, and abhor them, therefore they are not to be suspected, meerly upon that account.

II. Some make this a presumption. If a person sick and dying, doth take it upon his or her Death, that such an one hath bewitched them. See *Perkins Chap. 7. page 210.* So *Keeble* on the Common Law, saith, the testimony of the person hurt upon their death complaining against a person, that they appeared to them and bewitched them. Now in this case it must be considered whether this dying person were not under Diabolical Molestations, or an abused phantasie, or under ungrounded suspicions of the party they complained of before they were so sick. And the grounds of
their

their suspicions are to be thorowly considered, before the survivors make this a ground of suspicion. Sure all this may proceed from false principles (as there Expressed) drunk in by a well meaning, but mistaken dying person.

CHAPTER X.

12. **S**OME saith *Perkins*, do add this for a presumption. If the party suspected be found to have the Devils mark: for it is commonly thought, when the Devil maketh his Covenant with them, he always leaveth his mark behind him. *Bernard* makes it a ground of Conviction. (*Gaul* only a presumption.) And *Tertullian* (who lived above 1400 years ago) says, It's the Devils custom to mark his; and note, saith *Bernard*, That this mark is insensible, and being pricked, it will not bleed, sometimes like a teat (and the Devil sucks, or toucheth them:) sometimes but a blewish spot, sometimes a red one, and sometimes the flesh sunk.

I conceive such a mark is neither ground of conviction or suspicion.

1. Because the Lord sometimes in anger, and sometimes for tryal of his Servants, sends such marks upon the Bodies of men, as are unusual; as the *Emerods upon the Philistins*, 1 Sam. 5, 6, 7. Which made those Heathens say, *The Hand of the God of Israel is sore upon us.* And

Deut. 28. 27, 35. God threatens to punish his people for their sins, with a botch, emerods and with the Itch whereof they could not be healed. So then some of these sores might constantly be moist as if they had been sucked.

2. Many persons have naturally, or by some sickness or hurt, received some sores, like, if not the same with those they call the Devils marks. I knew a man, that lived and dyed without the least suspicion of that crime, that told me he had a natural issue upon his breast from his youth up, which distilled about a drop or two in twenty four hours, so that it was alwayes moist, and conduced much to his health. And as for the weaker Sex; The Lord hath said unto Eve, and her Daughters, *In sorrow shall be thy Conception*; but instanceth not in the particulars. But experience hath shewed upon some sober and pious women, after hard Travels and the like, that they have had those Excrescences which are called, *Pili Uteri*. And I have been informed by a skilful Midwife that hath known vertuous women that have had those Piles, and that they are without sence of feeling, sometimes and after cold, handling, &c. are apt to draw up into the Body. Satan knows who hath (by the hand of God) such suspected marks, which the Lord lays on them as their affliction, & if he can by other means get them to be suspected, and their Bodies searched, he will hereby expose them to great-

er suspicion, if not Condemnation; if we take this for a ground of conviction or presumption of guilt. But if he attains not that, yet hereby shall sober and innocent persons be exposed to the reproach of such, who when they understand God hath loosed their cord, and afflicted them, will as *Job* speaks, *marr their path, set forward their calamity, and not spare to spit in their face.* *Job* 30. 10, 11, 12, 13. For he or she that is ready to slip with his or her foot, is as a lamp despised in the thought of him that is at ease. And there may be such Excrecences from a natural cause, which yet Learned Physicians cannot find out, the reason of. Man knows but in part the Works of God, *Eccles.* 11. 5. *For he doth great things, and unsearchable; marvellous things without number.*

3 If we enquire how these are known to be the marks of one in league with Satan? It must come from the Confession of Witches, that have owned such things.

Now among the many Confessors at *Salem*, there were sundry declared they had such marks on them: one in her head which she said the Devil in likeness of a bird came daily, and pecked, or sucked. I saw the sore place and there was nothing to be seen to make it to differ from another sore coming by natural causes. Another said, she had the Devils mark upon her leg, which was a blew spot as broad as a Shilling: her Husband testified, that he saw the spot, but little suspected it to be the De-

vils mark. Others had sores on other parts of their bodies, which they said the Devil sucked; but by all that, I could learn by those that saw them, there was nothing to demonstrate that they came in a preternatural way by Satan; but only the parties own affirmation: which whether true or false I leave to God and time farther to discover. And I suppose we had as many confessions and demonstrations to render what they said credible, as hath been known at any one time in some Ages. But be it so, that by the confessions of known Witches there have been upon some of the baser sort (as *Bernard* saith) of them, such teats, or marks. These may come by natural causes, or violent casualties, and by Satan be perverted to such an use. But if they come from Satan immediately as the confessors acknowledge. This can only tend to the conviction of those that so confess, and where those marks are found: but make nothing to the proof, or suspicion of other persons to be guilty of that crime, who having such marks deny the crime, and ascribe these bodily marks to other causes. So that its far more safe wholly to lay aside the practice of searching after suspected persons teats or Witch marks, unless in those who confess themselves to have them, and that for tryal to see whether they say true or not; then by using it to lay stress upon a fallible sign.

12. Another unsafe principle is to lay weight upon the testimony of Ghosts, as they are called; that is to say, *Spectres* appearing in the shape of the dead, and personating them. Satan by his wiles in this kind hath gained too much credit, in hours of Temptation. For it hath so happened, that when in the death of some persons there was any notice of a circumstance which might give unto a jealous eye, any colour for suspicion, that any one was accessary to their death; the Spectre personating them hath cryed out to the afflicted for vengeance against such an one for murdering them, telling the manner how, by relating the circumstances of their death: and presently people were ready to say, I remember those very circumstances in the dying of such a person. Well, it is very probable such an one murdered the party. And hereby the person suspected is accused of Witchcraft and Murder together, and by joyn: ing these accusations together, both seem the more probable and credible. But that there is no reason to hearken to such accusations will appear if we consider.

1. That Satan can assume the shape of living innocents, as above shewed, and therefore of the dead also; as of dead *Samuel*: and that shape being assumed can say what he pleaseth, or seem to the Imagination of *daimoniackal* persons so to speak. And he being a *Liar from the beginning, Job. 3. 44.* By his lyes he fastens what accu-

accusation he pleaseth of murder, or other crime upon the living. And if hearkened unto will, as the deceived *Eve*, by falsely accusing God, deceive us by falsely accusing our Neighbour to us.

I know Hystories speak of Ghosts discovering murders, at sometimes, and moneys lost or acts of injustice done in the life time of the person represented by the said Ghost; which some have conceived to be the very Soul of the deceased: (and by this opinion many *Papists* have been confirmed in the error of *Purgatory*:) Some a good Angel sent in that Similitude to procure justice to be done: and some have conceived it to be the Devil compelled, *Volens Nolens*, to discover injustice, or transforming himself into an Angel of Light, as 2 Cor. II. 14 by seeming zealous for justice. I should digress too far from my intended scope to discuss, what may be said *pro* or *con* in this matter. It sufficeth in the case, *Anno* 1692. To say we have had so much experience of the wiles of Satan appearing in the likeness of the living, that we have no reason to believe him in the likeness of the dead.

2. The hearkening after Ghosts, if we take not heed, may hurry us unawares into that sin forbidden, *Isai.* 8. 19. *Viz.* Seeking for the living to the dead? What? shall we hearken to or enquire of the dead, what they can say against the living? This hath a tendency to that iniquity

quity forbidden, Deut. 18. 11. by the name of *Necromancy*: in Hebrew it is, *Vedoresh-el-Ham-methim*. A seeker unto the dead.

A like unto this deceit of Satan, was another of his devices. *Viz.* He would appear Spectrally in the shape of a Neighbour unto the afflicted, and say, I killed such and such a person, and relate in that shape the manner of the deceased's departure out of the world, by plausible and seemingly true circumstances which was in the day of it, too much credited to augment Suspicions against the accused: But the invalidity of such accusations appears by what is already spoken concerning the Apparition of Ghosts.

CHAPTER. XI.

14. **S**OME have laid great weight upon this, When something supposed to be bewitched, or to contain the charm by which the enchantment is wrought is burned in the fire, and the party suspected comes to the fire, or seems to be burnt after it, or by such like ways concerned; this hath been esteemed a farther presumption that they are guilty. As in Sir *Matthew Hale* his condemning *Amy Duny*, Printed Anno 1682. A toad found in the blanket of *Durent* (said to be bewitched) was held in the fire till it made an horrible noise, and the next day *Amy Duny* (who was suspected to bewitch *Durent*) was found all grievously scorched

ed with the fire. The use of such experiments is justly condemned by Perkins and others, as after a sort a practice of Witchcraft: Yet the seeming discovery hereby made hath found entertainment by those that oppose the means used.

But before we give credence to such a discovery, we must be very circumspect least we be deceived by humane knavery; as happened in a case nigh Richmond Island, circiter Anno 1659.

One Mr. Thorpe a drunken Preacher, was gotten in to Preach at Black point under the appearance and profession of a Minister of the Gospel, and boarded at the house of Goodman Bayly, and Baylyes Wife observed his Conversation to be contrary to his calling, gravely told him his way was contrary to the Gospel of Christ, and desired him to reform his Life or leave her house. So he departed from the house, and turned her Enemy, and found an opportunity to do her an injury: and it so fell out that Mr. Jordan of Spurwink had a Cow dyed, and about that time Goody Bayly had said, she intended such a day to travel to Calco-Bay. Mr. Thorpe goes to Mr. Jordans man or men and saith, the Cow was bewitched to death, and if they would lay the carcass in a place he should appoint, he would burn it, and bring the Witch: and accordingly the Cow is laid by the path that led from Black point to Calco, and set on fire that day Goody Bayly was to travel that way, and so she came by while the Carcass was in burhing, and Thorpe had her questioned for

for a Witch: But Mr. Jordan interposed in her behalf: and said his Cow dyed by his Servants negligence, and to cover their own fault they were willing to have it imputed to Witchcraft; and Mr. Thorpe knew of Goody Baylyes intended Journey, and orders my Servants (said he) without my approbation, to burn my Cow in the way where Bayly is to come; and so unriddled the knavery, and delivered the innocent.

But suppose the case where there is no such deceit, and the suspected party comes to it, when such a thing is burned, or seems extraordinarily hurt or concerned at such a time, how will this prove the party guilty of the crime, he or she is suspected of? If any way, it must (1.) Proceed from some natural cause, or sympathy in nature, between the thing burned, and the Witches Body; but no reason can be given of this; for a charm is wrought by the Devils power, and not by any natural power of the Sorcerer, conveying any natural venom from their own body, which by the operation of the fire should revert back into it again, as to its center or fountain. (2) Or from the immediate hand of God, causing this effect for discovery of the Guilty; which we have no warrant from the Word of God to expect (as was said in another case, Chapt. 8.) (3) Or by means of the person burning the thing, & using it as a charm to find out the person that laid the enchantment upon the thing burnt; which

which if it be affirmed truly, would rather prove the burner the Sorcerer; and so tend to clear the suspected. (4.) Or it proceed from the Compact made between the Devil and the Sorcerer; which if any affirm, I ask how know you there is any such Covenant made? that is first to be proved, and then that this is one article in that Covenant, and that the Devil will attend to, and keep his part of the Covenant inviolable. Neither of which can be demonstrated. (5.) Or this suffering is a meer phantasie, or the free agency of the Devil, who is a lyar from the beginning, and therefore not to be heeded. This Experiment is like the ways of trying by water, fire, boiling of Urine, &c. all which have been justly condemned as a sort of charms to be rejected by Christians.

Among the Confessors, *Anno 1692.* was a Negro Woman, who charged two women to make her a Witch, describing how she see her mark in the Devils Book. And said, if she might be permitted, she would fetch the things whereby she tormented the afflicted complainers. And accordingly brought an Handkerchief, wherein several knots were tyed, raggs of Cloth, a piece of Cheese and a piece of grass. And as I was credibly informed, some compelled her to swallow the grass, & that night she was burned in her flesh; and one took a piece of her ragg and burnt it in the fire, and one of the

the Afflicted that had complained of her, was presently burned on the hand. Another piece of her rags was put under water, and then others complainants were choaked, and strived for breath as if under water: And another ran to the River as if she would drown her self. Here note, that the raggs on which, as the Confessor said, the Witchcraft was laid, did when put into fire and water, affect the persons supposed to be thereby bewitched more than the Charmer her self. And probably the cause may be, that Satan, the Lord permitting him, may inflict his mischief on the person, the Spectators or Actors herein suppose to be concerned, suiting hereby his design to mans faith about it. And if so, the reason why any suspected person is hereby concerned, is not because they are guilty, but because they are suspected.

15. If the above named Signs singly taken, are not sufficient to prove a person guilty of his Crime; then when many, or most of these suspicions above-named center upon the same person, they cannot prove them guilty. Nay, all of them may be fixed upon the same person, by the wiles of the Devil, and yet the person be innocent. For if Satan can assume & afflict any one in the shape of an innocent, as hath been already proved, he may also in shape of Ghost of the deceased accuse them, and so

act over the suspicions mentioned.

Quæ singula non prosunt juncta non juvant.

I find in the tryals and condemnations that have been in England & Ireland, several of them have proceeded upon sundry of these suspicions put together; and so the total thence arising hath amounted to a condemnation. See *Gleanvil*, part 2 pag. 118. to 209. In particular in the case of *Julian Cox* before Judge *Archer*, *Ann* 1663. pag. 191.

But probably it may be said, that the method which I except against have been used with good success, for by such things Witchcrafts & Witches have been discovered, & some brought to confession and repentance, and given undeniable demonstrations of the reality of their guilt, and recovery after it out of that snare of the Devil, and therefore such ways of discovery are still to be used.

Ans. 1. Let us take it for granted, that these means have occasioned the discovery of Witches; yet if any of them are unlawful they are not to be used because of former success. Any things have been done irregularly which God hath turned to a good event; as the lying of *Jacob* to get the birthright; the Selling of *Joseph* by his Brethren. Yea, the diabolical divination of *Nebucadnezzar*. *Ezek. 21. 21. to 25. vers.* proved prosperous to him. And *Balaam's* incantments to procure a curse, God turned into a blessing to *Israel*. Yet none of these things

things are to be imitated by us upon hope of the like event to follow.

2. If the discovery abovesaid hath followed upon the use and dependance upon the means abovesaid, it may be said to come from Satan over-ruled by the Lord to subserve his glorious purposes as the instrument of discovery, who exposeth at some times his own Vassals to humane justice, that he may cut them off from the earth: and therefore assumes their shapes or otherwise renders them suspected to their Neighbours upon such kind of presumptions, as may wrap in the guilty and innocent together, and thereby working upon the erroneous principles of men, doth (as we use to say, kill two birds with one stone,) deliver up his own servant to ruine, and give occasion for the condemnation thereby of an innocent person.

But Satan is not to be trusted when he speaks truth, or doth that which eventually proveth good, because his aim is always to do mischief hereby. Our Saviour Christ would not accept Satans worship and testimony when he spake true. *Mark 5. 6, 7, 8* And *Paul* was grieved in spirit when the Devil gave an high testimony of him to be the Servant of the most high God. *Act. 16. 16, 17, 18.*

CHAPTER. XII.

16. **B**ernard saith, Witches may be convicted by their *Extasies* : with the delight whereof, Witches are so taken, that they will hardly conceal the same : or however at some time or other they may be found in them. But the insufficiency of this kind of proof will appear by considering the various sorts of *Extasies*, and the diverse subjects of them. *Extasies* are either natural, divine or diabolical.

1. *Natural*, which proceeds from the constitution of the body, and some violent disease, as *Feaver*, &c. whereby the imagination is strangely transported, and the party conceiveth himself to be in some glorious place & company &c. which proves but a meer dream of a man eating and drinking, but when he awaketh his soul is empty. *Isa* 29 8.

2. *Divine*, as the trances of *Peter*, *Act*. 10. 10 and of *Paul*, *Act* 22 17.

3. Or *Diabolical*, of *Witches*, persons *Obsessed* or *Possessed*.

Some Histories speak of strange *Extasies* of confessed *Witches*. *R. B.* of the kingdom of darkness. p. 69, 70. Tells us of a Woman confessing her self a Witch, who pretended she had been turned into a Wolf, & killed a Sheep & Cow in that shape, and the Cow & Sheep were killed at that time, And of a man Wolf that was suspected

pected in that shape, to devour Cattle, and his face had several scratches and hurts, which they said were given him by the Dogs that took him for a Wolf, and he confest himself, that twice a year he was changed from a man to a Wolf. But this change could not be real, but an abuse of Phantasie, either from a distracting Melancholy called *Lycanthropia*, whereby he imagined he was transformed into a Wolf. Or else, if he were indeed a Wizzard, the Devil cast him into a profound trance, whereby he imagined he was killing Cattle as a Wolf; while the mischief done was other-wise, and probably by a real Wolf.

But those that have been obsessed have had strange *Extasies*; as some of our afflicted persons have had their trance-fits; in which they lay long time in a Swoond, and when they came out of them declared they had been carried to delectable places, and had seen glorious sights of Men and Angels; as is in part declared above, *Chapt. 5.* So that its easier to find a person possessed or distracted by such *Extasies*, than to prove a person hereby in voluntary league with the Devil.

17. I come next to consider the testimony of such as confessing themselves to be Witches, to witness against others as partners with them in the same crime. This hath been accounted sufficient proof by the *Common Law*, See *Keeble.*

Ibidem. And *Glanvil.* *Ibidem*, p. 141. &c. The ground of it is from the received *Maxim*, That *Socii criminis*, partners in a crime confessing their own guilt, and discovering their companions, are fit and sufficient witnesses against those their companions. As is frequently proved in cases of Murder, Treason, Robbery, Theft &c. and why not as well in Witchcraft? *Perkins* makes this only a presumption. But *Bernard* makes it a convictive evidence, when one or more fellow-Witches, confessing their own Witchcraft, and bearing witness against others, if they can make good the truth of their witness, and give sufficient proof of it: As that they have seen them with their Spirits; ... or that they have been together in their meetings, and such like. Now in the Examinations and tryals at *Salem*, there was great plenty of this kind of Testimony; for about Fifty confessing they most of them if not all accused others as partners with them at their Witch meetings; as at a great Pond nigh *Andover*, some of them said, they met together, and some at *Newbury-falls*, and were Baptized there by *Satan*. And some at *Salem Village* as above shewed, Chap. 2. & 3. Some said, they stole an horse and rode upon it in the air from *Andover* to *Salem Prison*, and there through the grate discoursed with one whom they accused. Another declared that she with widow *S.* went to Capt. *W.* and she said *S.* gave him a blow with a great stick,

stick, and yet were to him invisible : Capt. W. declared he had a sore blow as if with a great stick, but saw no body. Widow S. denyed that she struck him ; then M. G. the confessor very boldly looked up in her face, and said, G. S. you know you did strike him, and I saw you do it, and then told the manner how it was done, and how they came to him and returned. There were many such instances which seemed exceeding demonstrative in that day. Yet upon an after review of the whole these confessors testimony appeareth to be very doubtful, if not utterly false. Yet I would not deny all evidence of confessors to be rejected : for the case may be so that persons may give such infallible signs of their own guilt of this, (as well as other crimes) and such tokens of real repentance for the same, as may render their testimony notwithstanding their former transgression as credible, as the testimony of any other confessing Malefactor. As *Manasseh* who used Witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar Spirit ; and afterward besought the Lord & humbled himself greatly &c. 2 Chron. 33. 6, 12, 13. Was as fit (had he been a Subject) to be a competent witness in any Court of Judicature, against those that had been partners with him in those abominations, as any other man.

Here we must distinguish between *Penitent Confessors*, and *Impenitent Magicians*.

Is a *Magician* or white Witch (as they are called)

called) come in to discover and testify against another to be a Witch; *This (as Perkins saith, Chap. 7. p. 209.) is no more then the Devils testimony, because by the Devils help he revealeth the Witch.* And indeed such are but the Devils tools to do his work at his beck, and so will as readily accuse the innocent as the guilty. But the reasons that sway with me to question the truth of the confessors, *Anno 1692.* notwithstanding their seeming repentance for such crimes, are such as these.

1 These confessors by their plausible confessions and accusations of others begetting credit, have been a great if not the greatest Engine of Satan to carry on the accusing and apprehending of others, until this matter came to such an height, that if it had not been stopped might have brought the best Christians in the Country, under the imputation of that abomination, and have involved all in confusion or blood. The kingdom of Satan being so evident in the winding up of that whole contrivance, leads us to see his finger in this principal means, for the managment of it.

2. Some of these confessors were first under diabolical vexations, (as the other afflicted or obsessed persons were) and under those torments did, as they say, sign to a Book presented to them, real or imaginary, by which they obtained ease of their pains: And then Satan in their shapes afflicted others who accused them
until

until they confessed. And after such confession, persons against themselves, they also accused others, as being with them, and they were afflicted themselves, as they had been at the first and complained against their Neighbours as others did. So that these persons may justly be esteemed *Daimonizomeni*, under some kind of obsession and delusion of Satan all this time, and so their Phantasies and Sences abused by him all the while; Satan sometimes tearing of them as a devouring Lyon, and at other times beguiling of them, as a Subtil Serpent.

3. Others that were not so afflicted before their Confessing, were so presently after it, and so may be reckoned in the same predicament with the others.

4. I am jealous, and I hope with a godly jealousy, that some by these their accusations of others, hoped to gain time, and get favour from the Rulers. And that some of the inferiour sort of people did ill Offices, by promising them favour thereby more than they had ground to engage. And that some under these temptations regarded not as they should what became of others, so that they could thereby serve their own turns. And I have been credibly informed, that some have since acknowledged so much.

5. These Confessors since deny their Confessions, and accusing of others, or say they remember nothing of what they said or did in that

that day, whether truly or not, will be more manifest another day. We may then well question the validity of those Testimonies which the Testifiers themselves do not stand to justify now the scene is changed.

18. I come in the next place to consider a persons evidence against him or her self by their Confession upon examination and tryal. This is by Scripture declared to be sufficient Evidence against persons *Compotes mentis*, of a sound understanding, *Luk. 19. 22. Out of thine own mouth will I condemn, or judge thee.* Yea sufficient to justify an Execution upon it, whether the person speak truly or not. As *David* said to the *Amalekite* that affirmed he had killed *Saul*. Thy mouth hath testified against thee, *2 Sam. 1. 16.* Yet its very probable that *Saul* slew himself without the help of any other. *1 Sam. 31. 4, 5.* But there have been excepted, self-accusers when distracted, demoniacks, Lunatick, under witted, over-watched, and persons surprized upon sudden fear or hope of favour to be thereby gained. So that we may hope some of those at *Salem* belied themselves.

1. Those that being grievously vexed with the Devil did, and said they well understood not what themselves. As above said.

2. Its probable, some being accused, and their own Relations among others, suspecting them, and vehemently urging them to confess them;

more well nie and themselves guilty, were so surprized and amazed, that they confessed that in their haste, which they have cause to repent at leisure. And having once accused themselves, they feared to retract it presently, lest a worse thing should come upon them. But since they have recanted, those Confessions, and some such there were, whose conversations before and since that day have been sober and blameless, and give cause to hope better things of them.

3 But there were others, whose Confessions seemed more free and demonstrative of reality, and some who confessed upon real or pretended horror of Conscience; and these attended with such circumstances, that some will say, there is no believing mankind confessing their guilt of any Crime, if these must not be believed. But I leave the true state of their case, to a farther discovery, when the Lord please, in this life, or when God shall Judge the secrets of men.

CHAPTER XIII.

HAVING spoken of many supposed presumptions to discover a Witch, and shewed the invalidity of them. I shall enquire what is meant by a Witch. *Exod. 22. 18.* For the clearing whereof, I shall enquire who are the Criminals condemned, *Deut. 18. 10, 11.* Concerning whom.

1. Observe, That they were all Heathens, who being ignorant of the true God, worshipped the Devil instead of God; so that all the crimes there condemned, are crimes which so far as they related to any Deity, respected the Devil as their God.

2. That all the nine crimes there condemned were of a like nature in general, and are either divers names for the same thing, or set forth sins very like one to another. (1.) This appeareth in the frequent putting of sundry of them together, when they are prohibited or condemned, as, *Lev. 19. 31. & 20. 6, 31. The Wizard, and him that hath a familiar spirit are condemned together; and Mic. 5. 12. Witchcrafts and Soothsayers. And Jer. 27. 9. Diviners, Dreamers, Enchanters and Sorcerers, that is Witches, are put together. Dan. 2. 2, 27. Magicians, Sorcerers, Astrologers, Soothsayers are conjoined. So, Isa. 47. 9, 12, 13. & 1 Sam. 28. 3, 8, 9. Isa. 8. 19. & 19. 3.* (2.) The same persons are frequently charged with the guilt of the abominations, signified by several of these names together. As *Manasseh* is charged with six of these abominations. *2 Chron 33. 6. viz. Caus-
sing his children to pass thorow the fire, observing times, using Enchantments, using Witchcrafts, dealing with a familiar spirit, dealing with Wizards.* *Abaz* is charged. *2 Chron. 28. 3* with the first of these. The ten Tribes are charged with three of these abominations, *2 King. 17*

17. viz. Divination, Enchantments, and causing their Children to pass through the fire. (3.) Sundry of these crimes are ranked with the gross Idolatrous worshipping of false Gods of the Apostates from the true God in Israel. As *Manasseh*, is charged with worshipping *Baalim* and the Host of Heaven, and then with observing times, &c. 2 Chron. 33. 2, 3, 5, 6. So *Ahaz*, 2 Chron. 28. 3, 4, 23, 25. So the ten Tribes. 2 King. 17. 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17. And *Judah*, *Isa.* 2. 6, 7, 8, 9. They are said to be like the *Philistines* in Soothsayings, and worship Idols, &c. See *Psal.* 106. 35, 36, 37, 38. 2 King. 23. 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 24. (4.) There seems then in all these abominations to be some idolatrous worship of the Heathen Gods, that is the Devil, whereby some special service was done to him; and that in expectation of some great good or benefit they expected to receive from him thereby. So the *Egyptians* in their distress sought to the Idols, Charmers, Wizards, and to them that had familiar spirits. *Isa.* 19. 3. That is that by those persons and means they might implore and obtain the assistance of their Gods, to deliver them from the calamities felt or feared.

1. The first then is making thy Son to pass through the Fire; that is to *Molech*, or any false God, forbidden & condemned, *Lev.* 18. 21. & 24. 2. The sin of *Ahaz*, 2 King. 16. 3. and of *Manasseh*. 2 King. 21. 6. who observed times, used enchantments,

incantments, dealt with familiar spirits and Wards, and used Witchcrafts. 2 Chron. 33. 6. So that we may observe this iniquity hath some affinity with Witchcraft and the sins mentioned Deut. 18. 10, 11. partly because joyned with them in this place; and also because this *Manassehs Witchcrafts, &c* are joyned together in the places above mentioned. And this sin is also reckoned with the Divinations and Enchantments of the Ten Tribes. 2 King 17. 17, 30, 31. *Judab* fell to it. This iniquity was a solemn dedication, or sacrificing their Sons and Daughters to the Devil; *Psal.* 106. 37. though under the name of a God, as of *Moloch*, *Lev.* 20. 2. or some other false Gods. *Deut.* 12. 30, 31. And this Dedication was as the Ancients describe it, of two kinds.

I. By burning their Children to death in the Fire, as a Sacrifice to the Devil; which seems to be signified by the burning in the fire, *Deut.* 12. 31. & *Psal.* 106. 37, 38. *For they shed the innocent blood of their children.* So the *Gracians* sacrificed to *Diana*, *Agamemnons* Daughter, to procure a good Wind for their Fleet. *Ovids Metamorphosis, lib.* 13. This Sacrificing by the apostate Jews, in *Jeremiah's* time, was in *Tophet*, in the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*. *Jer.* 7. 31. & 19. 5, 6. From hence it is that Hell is called in the Greek, *Geenna*. *Mat.* 5. 22, 29, 30. From the hebrew *Gebinnom*, & *Tophet*. *Isa.* 30. 33. God hereby shewing the detestation he

he had of their Idolatry and Cruelty in those Sacrifices.

2. There was another sort of passing thro' the Fire; when the Child passed between two fires, as a solemn dedication of him to that false God they sacrificed unto. This probably was *Manasseh's* sin, 2 Chron. 33. 6. For it's said, *he caused his children to pass thorow the fire.* But he did not sacrifice to death all his Children; Though he might by such a dedication, consecrate them to the host of Heaven, or to the Heathen Gods. By either or both these ways, such Idolaters did make or confirm a Covenant with the Devil by sacrifice. As Gods people did make a Covenant with God, by sacrificing to him, *Psal.* 50. 5. And did thereby shew their seeking help from the Devil, their invocation of him, and dependance upon him for some great things they supposed he could supply them with. So that here was one kind of charming or enchantment used to a false God, which was condemned to death. *Exod.* 22. 20, For by the using these abominable Ceremonies, they did invoke the Devil to do them some great good. As the *Græcians* sacrificed *Agamemnons* Daughter to procure a Wind for their Navy, and having a fair Wind, afterwards imputed it unto their Sacrifice. And by that Law, *Lev.* 20. 2, 3. *He that giveth any Israel his seed to Moloch, shall surely be put to death.* These Sacrificers in *Israel*, ought to dye.

2. The

2. The second Sin foretold, *Deut. 18. 10.* is That useth Divination, *Kosem Kesaamim* in Hebrew, from the verb *Kasam*, to divine, which is in its derivatives sometimes used in a good sense. *Prov. 16. 10. Isa. 3. 2. Kosem*, The prudent. But *Deut. 18. 10.* used in an evil sense. And *Ezek. 12. 24.* for a flattering divination such was *Balaam*, *Josh. 13. 22.* A soothsayer, or diviner: the *Philistine Priests*, *1 Sam. 6. 2.* *Judabs* false Prophets, *Ezek. 13. 6, 7, 23. Jer. 14. 14. Ezek. 22. 28. Micah 3. 6, 11. Zech. 10. 2. Jer. 29. 8.* Though they prophesied in the Name of the Lord: but false & vain visions. Applied also to the *Babylonish Priests*, *Ezek. 24. 21. 23.* and to their diviners, *Isa. 44. 25.* And *Sauls* rebellion is compared to the sin of Witchcraft, *1 Sam. 15. 23.* Or of *Kosem*, that is divination, which shews it was a great sin: whether the divining were by, or in the Name of the true God, or a false God: And it was a prophesying of things to come true or false, or using means whereby they might fore-know future contingencies, and so be able to foretell them, as *Ezek. 21. 21, 23.*

3. Is an observer of times. *Hebr. Megnomen.* Always used to shew a wicked practice, as *2 Chron. 33. 6.* Tis one of the sins of *Manasseh*. Tis forbidden, *Lev. 19. 26.* Neither shall ye observe times. A sin of the *Philistines*, imitated by the wicked Jews, *Isa. 2. 6.* there translated *Soothsayers*: and from this, some of them are called,

Sons of the Sorcerers, Isai. 57. 2. Of Gnonenabi
 A sin of the *Amonites, Moabites*, and other heathens condemned, *Fer. 27. 3, 9, 10.* translated *Enchanters*; when they prophecied a lye to them; saying, *ye shall not serve the King of Babylon.* Some of the Hebrew Doctors derive the word from *Gnagin*, an eye, and interpret it of them that hold and abuse the eyes, so as to make men think, they see what is not really so. Some others derive it from *Gnanan*, a cloud, & hold it to be a kind of divining by the clouds. And others from *Gnon*, time, who by their pretended skill foretel what times are good, or evil to attend any weighty business in. Such are called *Soothsayers, Micah 5. 12* And *observer of times, Deut. 18. 14.* The Greek translation (which was before the birth of Christ) call him *Cledonizomenos*; a foreteller of things to come, or a fortune-teller.

4. Name is an *Enchanter.* *Menachesh* of the verb *Nichesh*, which is used in a lawfull sence, *Gen. 30. 27. I have learned by experience.* And of *Josepb* divining by his cup, *Gen. 44. 5, 15.* Which *Ainsworth* rendereth, *searching, search diligently* (that is) by this cup: Or (as it may be translated) make tryal of you; that is, whether you are such men as you profess your selves to be. And indeed by this cup in *Benjamins* sack did *Josepb* try and search out his brethren, to prove what love they did bear to their father *Jacob* and brother *Benjamin*, which

I understand to be the divining of *Joseph* there intended. But mostly the word is used to signify some wicked practice: As for the enchantments of *Balaam*, *Numb.* 24. 1. & 23. 23: *O Manasseh*, *2 Chron.* 33. 6. Of the ten tribes, *2 King.* 17. 17. And is condemned, *Lev.* 19. 26.

5. Abomination is a *Witch*. *Mechasheph* Not this word is always used to set forth some wicked abomination, and the worker of it. The *Egyptian* forcerers are charged with it *Exod.* 7. 11. Who are called Sorcerers, or *Witches*. *Mechashepim*. And *Manasseh*, *2 Chron.* 33. 6. used *Witchcraft*: and the wise men of *Babylon* that *Nebucadnezer* sent for to tell and interpret his dream, are called, *Dan.* 2. 2. *Mechashepim* *Witches*, or as tis translated *Sorcerers*. Such also were the Prophets of the *Edomites* and heathen Nations, *Jer.* 27. 9. called there *Sorcerers*. And the *Babylonians* are charged as guilty of *Witchcrafts*, called *Sorcerys*, *Isa.* 47. 9, 12. And *Nimrod* is called a *Miltrel* of *Witchcrafts*, *Nabum.* 3. 4. And *Jezabel* is charged by *Jehu* with this wickedness, *2 King.* 9. 22. And *Judab* also is charged with this abomination, *Micah.* 5. 12. Yea after their return from *Babylon*, *Mal.* 3. 5. Where the Lord threatens to be a swift witness against the *Sorcerers*, or *witches* among them. The *Septuagint* Greek translation render this word, which is by us called in the Scripture *Witch* and *Sorcerer*, by the name *Pharmacos*, and their *Witchcrafts* and *Sorcerys*, they call *Pharmacos*.

ner *maca* and *Pharmaceia* : and so these Greek
 names are in the New-Testament translated,
 and which very much follows this Greek transla-
 tion in quoting the Scriptures of the old Testa-
 (ment) *Gal. 5. 20. Witchcraft, Sorcerys, Rev. 9.*
21. & 18. 23. And Sorcerers, Rev. 21. 8. & 22. 15.
 6. The sixth iniquity here condemned is,
 a Charmer. *Hebr. Chobe Chaber* ; a Chamer of
 Charms : of *Chaber*, to joyn together in Society.
 is sometimes used for a lawful *Associating* ; but in
Deuteronomy & other places, for a wicked joyn-
 ing Society, as *Isa 47. 9, 12.* translated *Enchant-*
ment : stand now to thine Enchantments, &c.
 And *Psal. 58. 5.* used to express the Charming
 of a Serpent. The Greek call such an one,
Epaiodan Epaioden : the Charmer of a Charm.
 7. The seventh word is, *A consulter with fa-*
miliar Spirits. *Hebr. its Shoel Ob*, that asketh of
Ob, the familiar Spirit ; rendred by *Buxtorf, Pytho*,
 a sin forbidden, *Lev 19. 31.* So that the regarding
 those that have familiar Spirits is prohibited, *Lev.*
19 31. & Lev. 20. 27. The man or woman that
 hath *Ob*, that is, a familiar Spirit, shall be put
 to death. See *Lev. 20 6* This was one of *Ma-*
assehs sins, *2 Chron 33 6. 2 King. 21. 6.* And
 for going to such a Woman the Lord killed
Saul, *1 Chron. 10. 13.* See of these, *Isa. 8 19.*
19. 3. & 29. 4. Such as these are com-
 monly joyned with Wizards, as in the Scriptures
 quoted. And such *Saul* cut off, *1 Sam. 28. 3, 9.*
 and yet after that sought to such an one to his

own destruction, 1 Sam. 28. 7, to 21. namely to the Witch at *Endor*. The Greek translator in the Scriptures above quoted, call them, *Egastrimuthai*: persons that speak in or from the bellies, because of old time as Histories mentioned, those who prophesied or spake by inspiration of the Devil, or heathen Gods, spake from their bellies, when they gave answers to the people from their heathen oracles. Which probably is pointed at, *Isa. 8. 19* Where such are said to *peep and mutter*; and *Isa. 29. 4*. *They shall speak out of the ground, and out of the dust.*

8. The Eighth name for these abominable persons is, A Wizard. Hebr. *Fiddegnoni*; of *Jadang* to know. But here notes such an art and way of knowing as is wicked, not allowed of by God, and therefore not proceeding from nature, or lawful art, or divine Revelation, therefore from Satan. Such are condemned as worthy of death. *Lev. 20. 27*. And it was one of the Iniquities of *Manasseh*, 2 Chron. 33. 6. *He dealt with Wizards.* Gnashab *Fiddegnoni*; He prepared, obtained or made use of Wizards. This name is commonly joyned with the having familiar spirits; as, *Levit. 19. 31 & 20. 6, 27.* 1 Sam. 28. 39. 2 King. 9. 21. 6. & 23. 24. *Isa. 8. 19 & 19. 3.* So that it seems to be another name to signify one that hath a familiar spirit, for his knowledge thereby, or at least to agree in the main with such.

9. Name is, A Necromancer, *Doresh El. Hamethim*

him, a Seeker to the Dead. This was the sin of the Witch at *Endor* to seek unto dead *Samuel* to give counsel to living *Saul*, 1 Sam. 28. which is also condemned. *Isa.* 8. 19. Should a people seek for the living to the dead? This opinion was among the Heathen, that the Dead might be raised, and give them advice. So *Pompey* in his distress desired the Ghost of a dead Souldier might come to him, to give him counsel what to do. And by such means, the Devil counterfeiting himself, this or that dead person, often deceived them. And by such kind of Apparitions, the Doctrine of Purgatory, and other Superstitions have been much rivetted among the vulgar with the Papists. By viewing the crimes condemned, *Deut.* 18. 10, 11. as they are mentioned in other Scriptures, we shall find, they all speak of sins very like one to another, and some of them but divers names for the same crime. The Lord aiming in this place to condemn all those diabolical Artists, by whatever names they were known among the *Israelites*, or *Canaanites*. For we shall find several of these names fixed upon the same person, as on *Manasseh*, 2 Chron. 33 6. Six of these names, or crimes are fastened upon him. And the Witch at *Endor* is mentioned, 1 Sam. 28. as one that was a *Necromancer*, a *Wizard*, and having a familiar spirit, and a Diviner by it. See also, *Isa.* 47. 9 12, 13. *Jer.* 27. 9. Hence then the way to understand the

crimes pointed at in the prohibitions mentioned in *Deut.* 18. is to examine what were the crimes those stand charged with in Scripture who are branded with any of these names.

I begin with the Sorcerers or Witches of Egypt, *Exod.* 7. These did imitate the real Miracles of *Moses*, in making frogs, and turning his Staff into a Serpent, and water into blood: And this was done by these Sorcerers either by some humane power, art and dexterity, or by the assistance of the Gods of Egypt (mentioned, *Numb.* 33. 4. *2 Sam.* 7. 23.) that is by the Devils aid. But they could not do these things by humane power, art, or dexterity; therefore by the Egyptian Gods. i. e. the Devils. This will appear, if we consider what was the case between *Moses* and *Pharaoh* and why *Pharaoh* sent for his Sorcerers. *Moses* by the Lords commission said to *Pharaoh*, *Exod.* 5. 1. *And the Lord* (or *Jehovah*, for so it is in Hebrew) *the God of Israel saith, Let my people go, &c.* *Pharaoh* answered, *Who is Jehovah that I should obey his voice?* As if he had said, I know not this *Jehovah*, I worship other Gods, even the Gods of Egypt. Now then *Moses* must prove *Jehovah* ought to be obeyed, and that must be by working a Miracle as a sign to *Pharaoh*. This *Pharaoh* asketh of *Moses*, and God promiseth that he will do for and by *Moses*, *Exod.* 7. 3, 5, 9. The case between *Pharaoh* and *Moses*, was somewhat like the case between

tween *Elijah* and *Baals* Prophets. 1 *King*. 18. *Whose God should be worshipped?* and this must be tryed by some sign, as here by frogs, lice, locusts, &c. So there by fire fetcht from Heaven to consume the Sacrifice; and in both cases, the Lord shews he is greater than all Gods, as *Jethro* acknowledged; *For in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, the Lord was above them.* In prosecution of this Commission, *Moses* and *Aaron* turn their Rod into a Serpent, and the water of *Egypt* into blood, and bring frogs to cover the land of *Egypt*: Here were real Miracles, which prove that *Jehovah* ought to be obeyed. For that Message which is confirmed by evident Miracles, comes from the God of Power and Truth, and therefore ought to be obeyed. *Pharoah* now will try if his Sorcerers cannot do as much as *Moses* and *Aaron*, that he may invalidate the Miracles of *Moses*, and it's said, *they did in like manner, Exo.* 7. 11, 12, 22. & 8. 7. *Gnashashu Cben.* They did somewhat like to what *Aaron* had done. If it were by humane power and dexterity only, then it must be by bringing Serpents, Blood and Frogs under their garments, or the like, and by slight of hand, slipping them down before the company with such celerity, that the things first presented, might seem to be transformed into another nature. But that it was not so appears,

1. In that they could not be provided be-

fore hand with Serpents, blood and frogs, to present before *Pharoah* at those times, because no humane art could tell them before-hand, what Miracles *Aaron* would work, to inable them to stock themselves with such provision before hand.

2. Had they so done by meer humane art, there had been no comparison between the actings of *Moses* and theirs; and so no argument to direct whose God was to be obeyed, whether *Jehovah*, or the Gods of *Egypt*. For *Pharoah* and his Courtiers, yea, and *Moses* also could easily discover such legerdemain, and indeed it would have rendred the Magicians ridiculous, and *Pharoah* for improving of them. For *Pharoah* was convicted that what *Aaron* did was a reality; for *Aarons* rod devoured the *Magicians* rods, and the blood was so over all the land of *Egypt*, that the fish died, and the River stank, and the *Egyptians* wanted drink, and the frogs so covered the Land of *Egypt*, that *Pharoah* acknowledged they came by *Jehovah*. For he requesteth *Moses* and *Aaron* to intreat *Jehovah* to take the frogs away, Chap. 8.8.

3. If they had only brought Serpents, Frogs &c. from other places, and thrown them down by juggling slight of hand; then when *Aaron* brought lice upon man and beast, they could have taken lice also, and scattered them about; for they tryed by their enchantments to bring forth lice, but could not: and yet lice were

were as easily, if not more easily obtained than frogs and serpents, and they were men still, and had their hands and feet to act with now as well as before: But now they are convinced and confess, This is the finger of God; that is of a greater God than any we worship and work by.

4. The Magicians brought frogs up upon the land of *Egypt*. *ver. 7.* which shews they produced frogs in more places than just where they stood and acted; and therefore did not act meerly by slight of hand.

Hence we may conclude, that the Serpents, Blood, and Frogs the Magicians shewed, were effects above mans power, and not by *Jehovah*, therefore by the Devil, the God of *Egypt*. Whether the Devil did only delude the sight, and bewitch the eyes of *Pharoah*, and the *Egyptians*, or make real frogs and serpents out of the putrid matter in *Egypt*, or make aerial bodies like them, or that it was the Devils assuming such like shapes, I determine not: But we may observe, that here the Devil, and his Magicians went very far, and farther than at other times; for now *Moses* is at hand to overcome their delusions by the power of *Jehovah*, and to convince beholders, that there is no God of the Heathen, can work like the God of *Israel*. Yet for a time the true Miracles of *Moses*, and the seeming ones of the Magicians seem to be pretty much alike. For it's said,
they

they cast down every man his rod, and they became Serpents. It is not said, & they skuffled in Serpents instead of their rods, but their rods were serpents, at least in outward appearance. These effects then so like to *Moses* real Miracles, might move the Magicians to try a fourth time if they could not by their enchantments produce lice, but here their power failed. And the true reason was, their God was in chains, and the Lord bound him that he should proceed no further to delude men by his pretended miraculous power.

2. I Enquire what was the Crime of the Woman at Endor, that had a familiar spirit?

1 Sam. 28. 7, &c.

A. She was such an one as *Saul* had cut off as being a Wizard, and having a familiar spirit. ver. 3. & 9. In hebrew they are called, *Eth Haobeth*; that is, those that have Ob. and ver. 7. *Esheth bagnalath Ob*. A woman that is mistress of Ob. that is rendred one that is Mistress of Pytho, a Prophecying Spirit. *Engastrimuchos* as above declared; one that speaks as from her belly by help of the Devil.

Q. What then was this Pytho, or Ob?

A. It was a divining spirit; to divine by the Devil. Whence the possessed *Damofel*, Acts 16. 16. is said to have the spirit of Pytho, which was the Devil that possessed her, by whom she did Soothsay. The Jewish Rabbi, *Aben Esra* saith, they were called Ob, because from

from a belly swelled like a bottle, they gave out their Oracles. And *Oboth* is translated bottles, *Job* 32. 19. *Ainsworth* on *Deut.* 18. 11. saith, such Magicians are so called, because they speak with an hollow voice as out of a bottle.

This Woman at *Endor* was then one that only plaid tricks with a bottle, or one that was mistress of *Ob* the Devil as her familiar spirit to wait upon her; not the former, therefore the latter. For (1.) By this her Spirit, she offers to bring up to *Saul* whom he desired. v. 11. (2.) She brings up the supposed *Samuel*, (i. e. as I conceive, the Devil in *Samuel's* likeness) That doth so much resemble *Samuel* for his Age, Complexion, Mantle and Voice, that *Saul* takes him to be real *Samuel*: And makes answer to him as if he were the real *Samuel*. ver. 15. And receives a sad message from him, as if it had been spoken by *Samuel* himself. ver. 16, 17, 18, 19. So that this Woman was a Necromancer in raising up dead *Samuel*, or the Devil in his likeness. Some indeed do plead that this woman only plaid tricks with a bottle, and a cunning knave assisting of her, counterfeited the voice of *Samuel*, and deceived *Saul* thereby. And they plead that *Oboth* is in one place translated bottles, viz. *Job* 32. 19. Whether truly or not, I now stay not to discuss; but if it were truly translated so here, yet in fourteen other places, *Ob*. and *Oboth* is transla;

translated a familiar spirit, or spirits; and we are to compare this in 1 Sam. 28. with those many Scriptures where it's rendred so as referring to an Evil Spirit.

But say they *Manasseh*, 2 Chron. 33. 6. dealt with a familiar spirit: hebrew, 'tis *Gnashab Ob* which they would render he made *Ob*. Now say they he could not make a familiar spirit although he might a bottle.

To which I answer.

1. The verb *Gnashab*, signifies to get, obtain or set up (as the *Dutch* translate it) so that here is nothing in this place to make for their turn; for though he could not make a familiar spirit, yet he could obtain, or set up a familiar spirit.

2 *Manasseh* his sin in this was like his Sacrificing his Children through the fire, which was certainly a kind of invocation of a false God, i. e. the Devil; and the description of his apostasy v. 3 to 8. shews that he was turned from the true God to the Gods of the heathen, to worship, and invoke them, and why not to have a spirit to obtain answers by, called *Ob*? But that this Witch at *Endor* did more than play tricks with a bottle, appeareth. (1) Because his sin was a capital crime, and they that sought to such persons were cursed of God, *Lev.* 19 31 & 20 6, 27. *Isa.* 8 19. And it cannot be apprehended that she and others would hazzard their lives meerly to play tricks with a bottle

or that the people heathens and *Israelites* should
 be so exceedingly addicted to follow such, as to
 need such severe prohibitions, and punishments
 therefore. (2.) *Saul* had put many such to
 death for having *Ob* : And its not likely this
 woman after this would keep such a bottle to
 play with to the hazard of her life. (3.) *Saul*
 and his Courtiers that had cut off so many of
 them, must necessarily know what the crime
 was, they were put to death for. (4.) *Saul*
 sought not for one that could play tricks with
 a bottle ; but for one that by the help of her
 familiar could raise *Samuel* (or a Spirit in his
 likeness) which was agreeable to a corrupt opi-
 nion among them, that they might seek help
 from the dead : forbidden *Isa.* 8. 19. *Should a*
people seek for the living to the dead, i. e. to the
Souls of the Dead. (5.) If she had only playd
 tricks with a bottle, how could she or any other
 personate *Samuel*, as he did speaking to *Saul*,
v. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19? If it be said, she had a
 man, a knave, to come in such a garb to perso-
 nate the voice & mantle of *Samuel* : Then I
 ask, how in the night time this woman without
 notice given could have a counterfeiting knave
 and mantle in such a readiness? For *Saul* came
 to her in the night, & without warning, *v.* 8, 9.
 (6.) A meer juggling knave or quean could not
 prophecy the victory of the *Philistians*, the
 death of *Saul* and his Sons, *Jonathan* and the
 rest, as the supposed *Samuel* did. But Satan
 might

might so know and prophesy (as I may farther shew hereafter.) For *Saul* dyed for this very sin, in going to ask counsel of one that had a familiar Spirit, to enquire of it, 1 *Cbron.* 10. 13. 14. And this the Lord might discover to Satan for the punishment of *Saul*, as he did the death of *Abab* unto Satan, upon a like account. And *Micaiab* was shewed in a vision, 1 *King.* 22. 19. to 23.

3. I enquire, *What was the profession & practice of the Babylonian Sorcerers mentioned, Isa.* 47. 9. 12, 13, 14 *Ezek.* 21. 21. *Dan.* 2. 2.

A. 1. They were like the Sorcerers of *Egypt*, for they have the same general names of Sorcerers and wise men.

2. They were *Chotsim bacochabim*; that is Prophets by the Stars: (translated *Stargazers* for *Chotseb* is used to signify a Prophet, or Seer *Isa.* 30. 10. 2 *Sam.* 24. 11. 1 *Cbron.* 21. 9. & 25. 5. 2 *Cbron.* 9. 29 & 12. 15. & 19. 2. & 29. 25 & 35. 15. *Amos* 7. 12. Here are ten times or places where this word is used to signify a Prophet; which give light unto this place, to shew that these *Stargazers* did prophesy by the Stars. And it cannot be understood of any foretelling by them, of signs, seasons, days & years, which God ordained them for, *Gen.* 1. 14. For that is a knowledge lawful and commendable, and attainable by lawful art & study: but what the Prophet chargeth them with here was unlawful, and therefore such a kind of prophesying, as

proph

the proceeded from a false God, that is the Devil.
 very 3. They are called *Monthly Prognosticators*.
 a fa *Modignim lechadashim*, knowers by the months ;
 12 *Modignim* proceeds from the same *Radix* with
 atar *fiddegnoni*, a Wizard, and hath some affinity
 eath with it here. These then were a sort of fore-
 tellers of things to come, by the Months or
 19 Moon.

4. Add to this, that v. 9. & 12. they are
 charged with the guilt of Sorcerys or Witch-
 9 crafts, and Inchantments, which shews what
 kind of Prophets they were.

2. They used Witchcraft in a way of opera-
 tion, whereby they endeavoured to deliver
 their Country from the evils coming on them.
 This appeareth, (1.) By the challenge *Isaiab*
rs makes to them, v. 12. *Stand now to thine inchant-*
ments, &c. if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so
25 be thou mayest prevail. q d. They hoped to put
 25 off the mischief and desolation that was to
 come upon them, by their Witchcrafts, &c.
 (2.) He tells them, *their Astrologers &c. should*
ew not save them from the things coming on them ;
rs but should be as stubble and the fire should burn them
ng &c. v. 13, 14, 15. Which intimates, that these
 ch Astrologers &c. did strive and endeavour it
 is with hopes to prevail ; but the Lord would o;
 at verrule and disappoint their endeavours.

3. Compare this with *Ezek. 21. 21.* Where
 al, their diviners used divinations to know secret
 as futurities, viz. Whether they should go to *Je-*
 01 *rusalem*

rusalem and prosper, or to *Rabbath* and prosper. That this was a diabolical divination may be seen, if we consider. (1.) The thing they sought for was a future contingent event to man unknown. (2.) The means they use to discover this secret were, by Images or *Teraphim* (which were the Devils oracles,) and by arrows, and by looking into the liver, for signs of direction to know which of these places they should first go to, & whether they should prosper in their way. And these means had no virtue in them to make any such discovery. (3.) Therefore they did by these rites and ceremonies invoke their gods to reveal these things to them. The Lord indeed did unknown to them over-rule the divination so that according to their Superstitious imaginations they were inclined to go against *Jerusalem*, and God made it to prosper; not thereby approving, or excusing their invoking false Gods: but that thereby he might use them, as the rod of his wrath against the people of his wrath. (4.) By comparing these two Scriptures above, we may see of what stamp the wise men of *Babylon* were, who were sent for by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to tell and interpret his dream, *Dan. 2. 2.* And to interpret his other dream, *Dan. 4. 6, 7.* And by *Belshazzar*, to read the hand writing and interpret it, *Dan 5. 7. viz.* Men that had peculiar intimacy with, and special aid from their false Gods, as the Sorcerers and diviners mentioned

oned, *Isa. 47. & Ezek 21.* For (1.) They have the same name, *Meباشפim* Sorcerers and Witches: and *Chartumim*, one of the names of the Sorcerers of Egypt, *Exod. 7. 11.* (2) This was agreeable to the end those Kings sent for them, viz. to discover secrets which other men could not. And they confidently profess a skill to interpret the Dream, if they may know what it is. *Dan. 2. 6.* Which seems to hold forth that they depended upon a power super-natural, to discover to them the interpretation of Dreams; yet they confess they cannot reveal the dream it self. And good reason, for the Gods they served knew it not. Yet they say the Gods whose dwelling is not with flesh, could reveal it. Which shews they acknowledge a Divine Power that knew the greatest secrets, who is indeed the true God unknown to them. And when *Daniel* had revealed the Dream and its interpretation. *Dan. 2.* And afterwards interpreted another dream. *Dan. 4.* He is acknowledged to excel all the Wise men of *Babylon* in that, *in him was the spirit of the Holy Gods. Dan. 4. 8. & 5. 11.* That is, the spirit of a God above their Gods; a God that was as *Nebuchadnezzar* confesseth, *Dan. 2. 47. A God of Gods, and a Revealer of secrets.* The High God. *Dan. 4. 2.* Yet this hinders not but that the Magicians, &c. had more of the spirit of their Gods, than others had, though not equal to *Daniel.*

Q. 2. What was the sin of the Sorcerers, & of Edom and other Nations, for which Jeremiah warns them not to hearken to them? Jer. 27. 3, 4.

A. It was a prophesying a lye unto them in the name of their false Gods, saying to them ye shall not serve the King of Babylon, which was the way to destroy them, ver 10, 11. say, in the name of false Gods: For they attended to dreams (nor to your dreamers) as a way of Revelation whereby they were persuaded so to prophesy. Dreams are either, (1.) Natural, as Eccles. 5. 3 7. Isa. 29. 8. Job 7. 14 (2.) Or Divine, as the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel, Joseph, &c. Or (3.) Diabolical, Deut. 18. 10, 11. Zech. 10. 2. The Diviners have told false dreams. But the dreams of the Sorcerers Jer. 27. 9. were not Divine, nor Natural, therefore Diabolical, and so from a false God. Here note, that Divining or Prophesying by diabolical and false dreams, is one way of Sorcery and Witchcraft: And that these false Prophets are Sorcerers, in undertaking to reveal things to come, by a false God, though what they reveal do not come to pass. They no doubt sought to their God for help in this matter, and went as far as they could. So I conceive all Baals four hundred and fifty Prophets, 1 King. 18. 26. were Sorcerers, in seeking with all earnestness to Baal to bring down fire from heaven (though they could not perform it) for they did all they could so oblige

& ligge the Devil to help them; but their God wanted power, and so the wonder was not wrought at that time. These Prophets of Baal deserved therefore to dye by the Law. *Exod. 22. 18.* and by the Law. *Deut. 18. 20.* The Prophet that shall speak in the name of other Gods, even that Prophet shall dy. As also by the Law. *Exod 22. 20.* *He that sacrificeth to any God, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed:* For those sacrificed to Baal. But if any would thence conclude, that all the Heathen Sacrificing Priests should be put to death: I say, it follows not, for the Heathen among the Heathen know no better. But these did it in *Israel*, where they had the means to know the true God, and professedly endeavoured to draw men from the Lord unto Baal.

Q 3. *What was the sin of the Prophets in Judah, who are called dreamers, Jer. 29 8 9. and said to use divination, Jer. 14. 14. Ezek. 13. 6, 7, 9. 23. and in other Scriptures?*

A. They are not called, *Mechashepim, Witch-
es*, as the false Prophets of the Heathen; yet they were very like them. As (1.) Both sorts used wicked divinations. (2.) As *Jannes and Jambres* withstood *Moses*; so these withstood the counsel of God spoken by *Jeremiab*, *Jer. 27. 3. to 11. & 29 8, 9.* (3.) The divinations of both sorts of Prophets were false, as to the matter of them; they divined a lye. *Jer.*

27. 10. with 29. 8, 9. Ezek. 13. 6, 7. (4.) As the Heathen diviners were guided by dreamers, which came from a lying spirit. Jer. 27. 9. Nor to the dreamers of dreams, &c. 10 these hearkened to false dreams which they dreamed, Jer. 29. 8. which came by Inspiration or intiguation of Satan. Yet they differed in this; Those prophesied in the name of a false God, but these prophesied a lye in the name of the true God. So that these deserved to dye by the Law. Deut. 18. 20. *But the Prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, even that Prophet shall dye.*

Q 4 *What were the Witchcrafts Jehu charged Jezabel with? 2 King 9. 22.*

A. 1. Either they were some practices of Witchcraft she used, not expressly mentioned in Scripture; or they were her protecting and providing for, and maintaining of Baals Prophets who were Witches, and her making their cause her own; as see, 1 Kings 16. 31. & 18. 19 & 19. 1, 2. She seems to be guilty of both. 1 King. 21. 25, 26. She made the Prophets of Baal's Sin her own. As David is said to slay Uriah, when he did it not in his own person; but contrived how it should be done by others. And we may note that one reason why the false Prophetess in Thyatira is called Jezabel, is, because she called her self a Prophetess, and taught the people to eat things sacrificed to Idols; which was

As was thereby to commit Idolatry. So that *Ahab's Jezebel* might be one of the Devils Prophetesses among the *Israelites*, and so be guilty of Witchcrafts that way; as a teacher of Idolatrous worshipping *Baal*. And we may note that the false Gods had their female Prophetesses and Diviners as well as Males, as we see the Witch at *Endor*.

C H A P T E R. XIV.

HAVING spoken of the Scripture use of those evils condemned, *Deut.* 18. 10, 11. And of the persons charged with those abominations, we may hence see who those Witches, Sorcerers, Diviners &c. among the Heathen were, viz. they were a sort of Priests and Prophets of the Heathen Gods, who had a more special dedication and approaches to them, than the ordinary sort of Heathen had, whereby they obtained or at least endeavoured to obtain special help from those Gods, who were indeed the Devils.

1. Note, they were reckoned among the Priests & Prophets of those Idol Gods, as *1 Sam.* 6. 2. The *Philistans* called for their Priests and diviners. And *Jer.* 27. 9, 10. they are commanded not to hearken to their Prophets, nor Diviners, nor Enchanters, nor Sorcerers or Witches. So when *Josiah* put away the Priests of the false Gods, he together with them put away them that had familiar Spirits, Wizards, Teraphim

and Idols, *2 King.* 23. 5, 10, 24. And when the ten Tribes are condemned for their heathenish Idolatries, & Sacrificing their Children through the fire; their divinations and enchantments are reckoned with these abominations, *2 King.* 17. 10, 11, 12, 16, 17. And the false Prophets of the *Jews* in *Galilee*, though they prophecyed by the true God, yet prophecying falsely, are called *Diviners*, *Jer.* 29. 8, 9. Though they pretended a Warrant from *Jehovah*, because of their likeness to the heathen Prophets and diviners. So *Zech.* 10. 2. *Mich.* 3. 5, 6, 7. Those Prophets are called *Diviners*.

2. Hence as Gods people were to have recourse to the Lords Priests and Prophets, to seek and know the mind of God, and to obtain help from him by them, *2 Chron.* 20. 20. *Mal.* 2: 7. *1 King.* 22. 7. So the Devil had his Priests and prophets by whom the people did enquire, & to whom they came in difficult cases, as to the God of *Ekron*, *2 King.* 1. 2. So *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezer*, *Belshazer* &c. Send for their wise men and Sorcerers to consult with and help in their great cases; as the Servants of the Lord sent to their wise men, the Priests & Prophets of the most High God, to consult with & help in their difficult cases. Note, All the Heathens were worshippers of the Devil, *1 Cor.* 10. 20. Yet all were not Sorcerers, diviners, soothsayers, &c. but some peculiar ones. So *Balaam* among the *Midianites*, was a Soothsayer or diviner,

ner, and a Prophet, *Josh. 13. 22. with 2 Pet. 2. 2.* *Baal* had his prophets four hundred & fifty, *1 King. 12. 22.* And the Prophets of *Egypt, Isa. 19. 3.* are called *Charmers; Wizards &c.* to whom they sought. As among Gods worshippers all are not Prophets, *1 Cor. 12. 29.*

3. As the gifts and attainments of the Lords Prophets were differing, and so their operations, as *1 Cor. 12. 4, 5, 6.* So Satan, who is the god of this world, doth act like the most high, in distributing his gifts, &c. to his devoted Servants. As had *Moses* and *Aaron*, the gifts of miracles, so Satan had the magicians of *Egypt* that shall come by counterfeit or seeming miracles, as near or like to Gods Prophets as he can. Hath the Lord his Prophets to prophesy of things to come? So Satan hath in some degree like them, who shall give a sign or a wonder that some times shall come to pass, *Deut. 13. 1, 2,*
 3. Did the Lord reveal himself to some of his Servants by dreams? So Satan reveals himself to some of his prophets by dreams at some times, as *Deut. 13. 1. If there arise a prophet or a dreamer of dreames.* So the Sorcerers of the Heathen, *Jer. 27. 9.* had their dreams or dreamers. Did the Lord give to some the gift of interpreting dreams, as to *Joseph* and *Daniel*? So Satan had his officers that pretended at least a skill to interpret dreams, as *Dan 2. 7.* Did the Lord call *Abraham* and his Priest to Sacrifice his Son *Isaac*, *Gen. 22. 2.* So Satan had

his Priests by whom the Heathen did Sacrifice their Sons and Daughters to him; and cause them to pass through the fire, &c. *Lev. 18. 21. Psal. 106. 35, 36, 37, 38.* And this may be the reason why causing Children to pass through the fire is so often in Scripture mentioned with Witches and Witchcraft. Because this was one abominable way whereby the Sorcerers Sacrificed, to their Devil gods, to implore their help. And as the Lord did more freely & familiarly reveal himself and his counsel to some more than others: As to *Moses, Exod. 33. 11. To whom the Lord spake face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend.* So Satan had some of these his devoted Servants, to whom he was more open & familiar in converse. And such were those that had a familiar Spirit to appear at their call: as the woman at *Endor*, by her familiar Spirit divining, brings up the counterfeit *Samuel*. And as the people did seek unto *Moses*, & such Prophets of the Lord as had more especial acquaintance with the Lord. So the heathen did seek unto those that had these familiar Spirits, as persons that had more especial intimacy with their gods than themselves had. Hereupon the Lord strictly forbids the *Israelites* seeking unto such, *Lev. 19. 31. & 20. 6. Isa. 8. 19.*

And from this intimacy between the Magicians and their god, and Satan their god, being as it were, at their call or beck; she that had a familiar Spirit is called *Beghalath Ob*, 1 *Sam.*

8. 7. rendred, that hath a familiar Spirit, but signifies a mistress of Ob: The spirit being subservient to the Witch, as if she were his mistress.

And hereupon it is that Writers speak of Witches being in Covenant with Satan, explicit or implicit; because Satan is so ready to act at the call of a Witch: as to make or bring frogs to eat or seeming, and other things at the Magicians of *Egypt's* endeavour, and to bring up Gods *Elohim*, i. e. Spirits invisible, likeness or shapes out of the earth, at the call of the Witch at *Endor*.

But some have denyed all such familiarity with the Devil, because say they, *The Devil being a Spirit there cannot be such commerce or intimacy between Men & Spirits, as amounts to a Covenant engagement between them?*

To which I answer, there may be a covenant engagement between Men & Spirits. For,
 1. There may be a Covenant between God and man: All *Israel* was in Covenant with God, *Deut. 29. 12, &c. That thou shouldest enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God.* And all Gods people did make a Covenant with God by Sacrifice, *Psal. 50. 5.* And before *Moses & Aaron* wrought their Miracles before *Pharaoh*, they were not only in covenant with God, but God had especially covenanted with, or promised to them, that upon their doing as he commanded and directed them, these miraculous effects

effects should follow, *Exod* 7. 10. &c. What then may not men be in covenant with Satan who is but a finite Spirit? And as an effect & token of it come after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders 2 *Thes.* 2. 9.

2. The Lord forbids his people making a Covenant with the Heathen Gods, *Exod.* 23. 32. *Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their Gods,* that is, with the Devils, *Deut.* 32. 17. If there had been no danger of *Israels* making such Covenants, they would not have had such a prohibition.

3. Satan discoursing with the Man Christ Jesus, *Math.* 4. 8, 9. Offers to make a bargain or covenant with Him, wherein he promisseth *Quid pro Quo.* Satan offers on his part to give all the kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them; and the condition he proposeth on Christs part, is, *That Christ shall fall down and worship him.* Had our blessed Saviour agreed to these propositions there had been a bargain but that was not possible, for when the Prince of this world came to our Saviour, he found nothing in him; that is, no matter for his temptations to work upon, *Job.* 14. 30. But alas, how many wicked men and woman are there in the world, that would accept of such bargains? Some have been so set upon obtaining their desired ends, that to have their wills they will do as he said in the Poet.

Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo.

If I cannot obtain my wish and will from God, I will to Hell to fetch it thence. And persons are prepared for it, and Satan sees it is interest, he will offer conference with them, as he did with *Eve*, *Gen. 3.* And readily promise them all the world can afford them according to their hearts desire, to the uttermost of his power, and make no scruple of lying, and if mankind believes him, Satan profers some condition to be performed on mans part, as he did to Christ; *If thou wilt worship me.* And when mankind believes & accepts the seeming good desired and offered, upon performance of the conditions required, here's a Covenant explicit or implicit. But say some, what ever Satan is said to do or reveal by a Witch, cannot he do the same things without a Witch?

A. 1. Satan hath done great things without Witches, as in the afflicting *Job*, and the possesed, as abovesaid.

2. Yet Satan doth also do and discover things by magicians, &c. as in the cases of the *Egyptian* Sorcerers, and woman at *Endor*, above expressed. And this may proceed, (1) Partly from the righteous Judgment of God, giving Satan both permission and commission at such times, to do great things in punishment to those that seek unto him in that way. As when *Ahab* goes to the Prophets that were not the Prophets of *Jehovah* or the Lord, *1 King. 22. 7.* but

but of the Devil, to enquire, whether he sh^d go to *Ramoth Gilead* : The Lord gives the Devil a commission to deceive *Abab*, who by going to these Prophets went to the Devil, 1 *King* 22. 20, 21, 22, 23. *Who will perswade Abab And a Spirit said, I will perswade him, . . . I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of his Prophets.* Now hear Satans commission : *Thou shalt perswade him and prevail also : go forth & do so.* (2) Satan may in policy do many things (the Lord permitting) at the devotion of his Votarys, which he will not do at other times if he could, because hereby he carrys on his design of destroying Souls ; both of his Votarys, and of others that go unto them. For there be many that have so much natural Conscience in them, and so much averſation from the Devil, and horror at his presence, that they will not seek immediately to the Devil, who yet will be drawn to seek unto Wizards, and such as have familiar Spirits, and so fall into the Snare of the Devil to the ruine of their Souls.

We know Satan is called the God of this World, and by imitating the Lords methods in shewing mercy to man, he seemed to the Hebrews then to be like the Most High : As *Lucifer* said, *Iſa.* 14. 12, 14. Had the Lord his Ark Temple, &c. where to give answers to his people ? So Satan had his Temples and Oracles, and Priests, whereby to give answers to his Worshippers, as at *Ekron*, at *Delphos*, and elsewhere.

nowhere; see *Acts* 14. 13. Did the Lord re-
 quire faith in them that came to him? So Sa-
 tan requires especial faith in them that seek to
 him for help. Doth the Lord hearken to the
 voice of a man in working wonders? *Josh.* 10.
 4. So Satan will hearken to the voice of his
 magicians, &c. Doth the Lord require parti-
 cular actions to be done by his Servants, when
 they work wonders in his Name? As *Aaron*
 must cast down his rod at one time, smite the
 rock with it at another time, speak to the rock
 at another time. *Elijah* prays at one time on
 his face between his knees, at another time o-
 therwise, *1 King.* 18. 42. So Satan had his va-
 rious ceremonies, words and actions to be ob-
 served by those that obtained special help from
 him. As Charmings, Mutterings, Peepings,
 speaking low, &c. *Isa.* 8. 19 & 29. 4 And
 divers Sacrifices made to him, whereby he was
 honoured by the Heathen as a God. *Deut.* 32.
 17. And Satan being thus served by them, did
 also some things for them, and that not only
 in way of operation, as for the *Egyptian* Ma-
 gicians; but also to some he did reveal truly
 some future events; as appeareth by the war-
 ning given, *Deut.* 13. 1, 2, 3. where it's shew-
 ed that a Prophet in the name, and by the
 help of a false God, may foretel a Sign that
 shall come to pass.

And doubtless *Belzebub* did it at *Eckron* some-
 times foretel truly future evens, or else *Abaziah*
 would

would not have sent to him to know whether he should recover at that time or not. But the essence of their being a Witch or Sorcerer did not consist in their obtaining the desired assistance from their God; but rather in the putting themselves into that way of endeavouring to get help of their Gods. For the Astronomers, &c of *Babylon* are called Sorcerers & Witches. *Isa.* 47. 12. Though by their Inchantments and Sorceries they could not protect themselves. And the Prophets of *Edom*, and other heathens, *Jer.* 27. 3, 9. are called Sorcerers for prophesying by Satan, though they prophesied falsely. And so I conceive the Four hundred and fifty Prophets of *Baal*, did abuse Sorcery or Inchantments in their invocation of *Baal*, and using actions they esteemed acceptable to him, that they might procure to him fire from Heaven to consume their Sacrifice, although they could not obtain it. *1 King.* 18. 22. to 30. And so justly deserved death by the Law. *Exod.* 22. 18. and by the Law. *Exod.* 22. 20. For Sacrificing to a false God.

Thus we see who were the Witches among the Heathen: We may then query, *Who were the Witches among the Israelites that were to be put to death?*

A. 1. Those that having the knowledge of the true God, or at least the means whereby they might know him, did so far forsake the true God, as to sue unto, and depend upon the

Devil

Devil, or another God, as the Heathen Priests
 and Prophets that were Sorcerers did. As by
 having a familiar spirit as the Witch at *Endor*
 had; or by using Witchcrafts as *Manasseh* did.
 These as Apostates from God, and Votaries of
 the Devil, were to dye by the Laws. *Exod. 22.*
18, 20. As is said of *Baal's* Prophets. And such if
 they prophecyed in the name of those false
 Gods (whether the Prophecie were true or
 false,) were to dye by the Law. *Deut. 18. 20.*
 The Prophet that shall presume to speak in
 the name of other Gods, that Prophet shall dye.
 2. Those persons who did prophecy a false;
 hood in the name of the Lord; or prophecy
 in his name when he sent them not, are called
 Diviners, though they pretended to speak (not
 in the name of false Gods, but) in the name
 of the true God; as, *Jer. 28. 8, 9. Mich. 3. 7.*
 Though they are not indeed called Witches or
 Sorcerers, but Diviners, which note a crime
 near to the former. Because they were so like
 unto the Diviners of the Heathen in prophe-
 cying falsely, and were alike capital offenders
 by that Law. *Deut. 18. 20, 22.* The Prophet
 which shall presume to speak a word in my
 name, which I have not commanded him to
 speak, shall dye, &c. So that although they
 are not called Witches, but Diviners, yet they
 were to dye by the Law, as well as the other.
 Here then we may observe, who is to be,
 esteemed a Capital Witch among Christians
 viz,

viz. those that being Brought up under the means of the knowledge of the true God, ye being in their right mind, or free use of their reason, do knowingly & willingly depart from the true God, so as to devote themselves unto and seek for their help from another God, or the Devil, as did the Devils Priests, and Prophets of old that were Magicians.

The end of such devoting to another God is for some supposed benefit. As, 1. To get help from him; So *Abaz* seems to be a Witch or Sorcerer, in that he sacrificed to the God of *Syria*, that he might obtain help by them *2 Chron.* 28. 3, 23. His burning his Children in the fire, after the Heathen abomination, is also a sin reckoned with Witchcraft; see, *Deut.* 18. 11. He was if not a Witch in sacrificing himself, yet at least one that did seek after Wizards and the like, to Sacrifice for him.

2. Another end in seeking help, is thereby to do strange things, as did the *Egyptian* Sorcerers as above shewed. And such a Sorcerer the beast, *Rev.* 13. 13, 14. prophecyed of, seems to be, for he maketh fire to come down from Heaven, on the Earth in the sight of men. And this was the work of Satan upon *Job's* Sheep and Servants, *Job* 1. 16.

3. Another end is for the discovery of Secrets; as above shewed, from *Deut.* 13. 1, 2, 3. & *1 Sam* 28.

4. Another end is to prevent or remove some

Some evil felt, or feared ; as the Sorcerers of *Babylon*, that by their Sorceries sought to prevent, or save them from the evils coming upon them. And though they did not obtain the help aimed at from their Gods, yet they are styled Sorcerers, *Isa.* 47. 12, 13, 14. & 44. 25.

2. I say, brought up under the means of the knowledge of the true God ; for though many Witches were among the Heathen Nations, yet they were not to be put to death, because they knew not the true God, they knew no better. But as for thee, saith God, *The Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do ; and there shall not be found among you an Enchanter, Witch, &c.* *Deut.* 18. 9, 10, 14. And therefore the Lord made this Law, as an hedge to keep his people from going away from him to Devils, to Gods whom they knew not, and whom their fathers feared not, *Deut.* 32. 16, 17. And so this Law hath some affinity with that capital Law, the next verse, but one step, *Exod.* 22. 10. *He that Sacrificeth to any God, save unto Jehovah only, shall be put to death.* So that Daniel did well in seeking to save the *Babylonian* Wise men, though Witches, *Dan.* 2. 14 &c. For they were not under the Law. *Exod.* 22. 18. But being ignorant of the true God, needed to live and be instructed, that thereby they might be made sensible of their evil practices, and turn unto the living God.

3. The object sought unto is the Devil, or
I
another

another God. Some of the Heathen did not seek to the Devil, as a Devil, that is, as a malicious, wicked, and unclean spirit: but as to their God whom they thought ought to be Worshipped by them. And some of the Israelites had an opinion of many Gods, as *Abaz*, 2 *Chr* 28. 23. *Manasseh* and *Amaziab*, *Chap* 25. 18 & 33 3, 4, 6. And so sacrificed to the Heathen Gods, as well as to their own. And this was very abominable to the Lord to be ranked thus with Idols and Devils, *Isa*. 42. 8. *Jehovah will not give his Glory to another.*

4. The person I say, that hath the free use of their reason; hereby are exempted from the guilt of this crime, persons possessed or obsessed of the Devil, who did by the power of Satan, strange things, as breaking chains, and Lunatick persons, upon whom the Devil took advantage by reason of their Lunacy.

5. They devote themselves to Satan, or their other God, and to seek to him; which was done divers ways; as by enchantments, charms, mings, peepings, muttering, sacrificing, cutting themselves, prayers, &c. And though of late times Satan as a cunning Fisher changeth his baits, yet still all that seek to him, as his peculiar Votaries, have their Ceremonies, Ordinances by which Satan is invocated and worshipped. Here we must distinguish between those that go and seek to Satan immediately, and those that seek to him by the mediation of a Wizard,

Wizard, &c. as *Saul* by the Witch at *Endor*. The former sort only are called Witches, or dealers with familiar spirits : But the latter is a great sin prohibited and condemned, *Lev. 19. 26. & 20. 6. & elsewhere.*

6. I say ; do knowingly and willingly seek, &c. And here I excuse a *tanto*, though not a *modo*, those that ignorantly use charms, spells, writings or forms of words, &c. being taught them by others, which are a kind of Witchcraft ; but those that use them are not sensible, that they are but various ceremonies to invoke the Devil, and that the effects following these charms, &c. are done by the Devil. So some have pulled fish bones out of a wound, cured tooth ach, agues, warts, and stopped blood by such devillish means. Such have an implicit faith that the means used, shall produce the effect desired, but consider not how ; and so are beguiled by the Serpent that lies in the grass unseen.

I knew a man in the *East*, who professed the art of curing wounds, and stenching blood by a form of words. I discoursed him about it, and he told me, he had been in the practice of it ; and believed it to be the gift of healing given him from God, upon the use of some scripture words he used, as he had been taught by an Old woman, and had tried it upon himself ; having cut his leg almost half through with an *Adds*, and only bound up the wound

with a cloth, and laid over the wound those words, and without other means the wound was cured in a few days. I desired to hear the words, and he related them to me; and I found him almost as ignorant in Scriptures, as an Heathen, and found he could not read. Whereupon I informed him that part of his words were Scripture, and part not; and that those words upon which the greatest stress was laid in order to the cure, were a perverse addition to the Scriptures: a meer fiction of mans invention; and declared to him, that if any such healing followed upon such a form of words, it could not come from the efficacy of the words themselves, or from a divine concurrence working a wonder, because of those words, which were indeed a lye in the additions made; therefore if any vertue were in them, it came by the Devil, and so those words a kind of Sorcery. The man hereby seemed convinced of his error, and promised reformation. I do not believe this man was a Wizard (though in danger of it) because he did it ignorantly in misbelief.

I fear some young persons through a vain curiosity to know their future condition, have tampered with the Devils tools, so far that hereby one door was opened to Satan to play those pranks; Anno 1692. I knew one of the Afflicted persons, who (as I was credibly informed) did try with an egg and a glass to

find her future Husbands Calling; till there came up a Coffin, that is, a Spectre in likeness of a Coffin. And she was afterward followed with diabolical molestation to her death; and so dyed a single person. A just warning to others, to take heed of handling the Devils weapons, lest they get a wound thereby.

Another, I was called to pray with, being under sore fits and vexations of Satan. And upon examination I found she had tryed the same charm: and after her confession of it and manifestation of repentance for it, and our prayers to God for her, she was speedily released from those bonds of Satan. This iniquity though I take it not to be the Capital crime condemned, *Exod. 22.* Because such persons act ignorantly, not considering they hereby go to the Devil; yet borders very much upon it: and is too like *Sauls* going to the Witch at *Endor*, and *Abaziah* sending to the God of *Ekron* to enquire.

CHAPTER. XV.

I proceed now to speak of some kinds of these Devilish artifts, not by an exact distribution of them into their several species. For though they are distinguished by several names and practices, yet they all agree in the general crime of Witchcraft, and being thereby as it were the Devils Priests and Prophets, depending upon his aid and oracles; so that he that is

of one kind may be also of another, or all the rest, according to their several ends for which and ways by which they make their applications to the Prince of darkness: and as he is pleased to communicate of his skill or power to the answering of their expectations for a reward of their dependance upon him. And as of old, they had several names, as Magicians, Diviners, &c. So of late times, they have their several names, and in part several kinds of skill, or power, as Conjurers, Astrologers, Cunning men, Mathematicians, Witches, &c. But all of them if they have their knowledge, or skill, or working by the Devil, are in Satans black list of Witches. Some such there have been who divine by representing a person, or coffin, or thing sought after in a looking-glass, to discover to the person enquiring somewhat secret, or future. I have heard several credible Stories of such Conjurers; and shall relate one here that I suppose was never in Print. An ancient Woman related to me, *That when she was a Maid, she had a curiosity to know who should be her Husband, and was informed of a Doctor that would shew Maids their future Husbands in a glass: To him therefore she went with her Money in her hand, to know who should be her Husband; and he carried her to a great looking glass, where she saw a man in his full proportion whom she never saw before. And a while after met this man (represented in the glass) in the Street, and having on the same Cloaths*

Gloaths he was represented with from head to foot ; and soon after he came a Suitor to her, and she was Married to him, and was her Husband when she made this Relation. In this relation observe,

1. It was no doubt a truth, for she told me this in way of craving my advice, whether she had done well or evil in going to the Dr. and I told her, she did evil in going thereby to the Devil. 2. It was no delusion of her phantasie, or affection working toward any person ; for it was one she never saw before, that was now shewed unto her. 3. The Dr. could not bring into the glass the shadow of a man absent and unknown, by any natural cause, or means by him used. Therefore it was from the Devil, who raised this Spectre in likeness of a man then unknown. 4. And the Dr. doing this frequently for his Money, must know he did it by a familiar Spirit, and therefore was a Conjuror in some league explicite, or implicate with Satan. And I have heard and read of other Stories of this kind very credible, which satisfy me, that this was not the only Conjuror in England. But it may be queried,

Q. How could Satan foretel this woman who should be her Husband, it being then a future contingent thing ?

A. In this case, it might be easy for Satan to give a very probable conjecture ; for the man was a Newfoundlander that came to England for a Wife, as directed by his friends.

young woman: And the Devil knew of his coming, he being at that time upon the Sea thitherwards, or newly come on shoar; and the Devil knew his errand, and the quality and conditions of both parties (as he is a discerning, peircing spirit;) and so knew it very probable to be a Match. And by this representation in the glass imposeth upon her Superstitious ignorance, a kind of belief of a necessity to accept him when he came. But in other cases, its not so easy.

Q. Here then we may enquire, *How can the Devil know things to come? Is not this Gods prerogative? Isa 41. 22, 23.*

A. Its true that the Lord alone knows things to come, so that neither man or Angel can know future events, unless the Lord make them known, or afford means whereby the creature may attain to know them: *Shew us things to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods. Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the Angels of Heaven, Math. 24. 30. Rev. 5. 8, 4. None in heaven, or earth, or under the earth, was able to open the book (sealed with seven seals) and to loose the seales thereof. Many other Scriptures speak of our ignorance of things & times to come, Prov. 27. 1. Eccl. 8. 7. & 6. 12.*

2. Yet God affordeth means whereby men, who are far less discerning than Spirits, come to know many futurities certainly, and of others probably to guess, so as generally or for the

the most part it proves according to mans fore-
sight. *A wise man fore-seeeth the evil, Prov. 22.*
27. 12.

1. By visions and revelations and such like,
God revealed to *Abraham* and *David*, the
conditions of their Posterity for a great while
to come, 2 *Sam.* 7. 19.

2. The Prophecies, promises & threatnings
in Scripture are a standing revelation of futu-
rities, in matters religious, civil, political & na-
tural, as the changes of seasons, &c. *Gen* 8. 22.

3. Many things are fore-known by their cau-
ses. As that wood thrown into the fire will
be burnt, &c. And thus many Physicians fore-
see the death of a person sick of an incurable
disease, when neither they nor their relations
are sensible of it.

4. Many things are fore known by the usual
signes that go before them, which though they
are not proper causes of the effects following,
yet are concurrent with them. *As when the*
Fig-trees branch is tender Summer is nigh, Math.
24. 32. A red skie in the evening is a sign of a
fair morning; and a red skie in the morning
lowring of foul weather, and so it comes to
pass, *Math.* 16. 1, 2, 3. *Luk.* 12. 54, 55, 56.

5. Some things men foresee very probable to
come to pass, because themselves or others have
intended and contrived how to bring them to
pass. As *Saul* fore tells to *Jabesh-Gilead*; *They*
shall have help to morrow by that time the Sun be
hot,

bot, 1 Sam. II. 9. Because he intended and contrived it.

6. By observation & experience of the usual events of providence, in the way of Gods governing the world ; a wise man fore knows probably at least, what will come to pass under like circumstances. And among men, one fore seeth things to come farther than another, as he excels another in prudence. As the prudent fore seeth, *when the simple pass on and are punished, Prov. 22. 3.* Or hath had a larger experience than another, *Eccl. 8. 5. A wise mans heart discerneth time and judgment.*

1. In all the above mentioned ways, except the first, Satan hath the same advantage to know future events as man hath ; and many advantages above man. (1.) As he is more knowing, wise, and of a larger understanding than man. (2.) In that as a Spirit, he pierces more into the insides and secrets of persons, actions and things. He cannot know the heart of man immediately, that is Gods prerogative, *Jer. 17. 10.* Yet so far as the heart discovers it self by its operations, upon the senses, external and internal, and other members of the body, Satan will find it out. (3.) By the swiftness and multitude of those Legions of unclean Spirits ; they are present in all Companies, Counsils, Cabals, and affairs of the Children of men, even with the Sons of God when they worship God ; and with the
Sons

sons of men in all the compass of the earth. *Job* 1. 6, 7. (4.) They have their experiences of five thousand years standing. (5.) When they intend and contrive any design upon the children of men, they are not in danger of being prevented by death (as men often are) for spirits cannot dye; and so more probably foretell the events of their own counsels. And by all the means and advantages above-said, Satan can fore-see future contingent events much farther off than man can, and so foretell (the Lord suffering) a sign or wonder which shall after come to pass.

2. Satan hath also the advantage of fore-knowing, and fore shewing future things by some way of divine revelation at some times, for the punishment of men. So God by some means (the way whereby to us unknown) lets the Devil know the death of *Saul* and his sons, and reveal it to *Saul* for his punishment in going to seek to Satan; and so Satan knows the way to destroy *Ahab*, and that from God; and contrives a way to bring it about, viz. by being a lying Spirit in the mouth of *Ahabs* Prophets.

3. Yea, the Lord succeeds the diabolical divinations of the King of *Babylon*, to prophecy success unto him against *Judah*, for the punishment of *Judahs* sins. *Ezek.* 21. 18. to 25. From this place observe, (1.) That the King of *Babylon* intending War against *Rabbath* and *Jerusalem*,

Jerusalem, knew not which to go first unto

(2.) Therefore he useth divination by arrows, by consulting an Image or *Teraphim*, and by looking into the liver of some beasts (always used by the heathen) so that if the divination favour the right hand, he will go first to *Jerusalem*: If the left, to *Rabbab*. (3.) These

divinations had no natural power in them to direct them, but they were means whereby they enquire of their Gods, that is the Devil.

(4.) The Lord so over rules the divination that is the Devils Oracle by the Image, &c. that the answer shall be, *Go to Jerusalem and prosper*; and accordingly he goes and prospers.

(5.) The Lord grants such success (not appointing the sin) unto these devillish divinations for the punishment of his apostate people. But when ever the Lord please, he disappoints all the Devils Ordinances. So that the Devil cannot know, or cannot discover to his Vassals what shall come to pass. *Isa. 44. 25. He frustrateth the tokens of the lyars, and maketh diviners mad, and maketh their knowledge foolish.*

1. Then Inchantments, Sorceries, Astrologers, &c. shall not be able to save from evil, or to profit, *Isa. 47. 12, 13, 14.*

4. If all the ways above-said so fail the Devil, that he cannot foretel what shall be hereafter, he hath an art by the ambiguity of his answers, to save his credit, be the event which way it will. So *1 King. 22. 6.* He tells *Abab*;

The

The Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the King ; but doth not determine which King, whether of Syria, or Israel. So in his Oracles of old to *Cresus*. *Cresus Halyn penetrans magnam disperdet opum vim.* Like the Sophism used against King *Edward* the Second. To shed King *Edwards* Blood refuse to fear, I count it good. And this shall suffice to speak of this kind of Divining.

2. Another sort of Diviners are they that reveal secrets, as where Stollen Goods are hid, or how Persons and Vessels do at Sea, or in other Countries, which they pretend to know by the Stars, and Positions of the Heavens ; but indeed by a familiar Spirit. These are by way of distinction called, Astrologers, Mathematicians, &c. Such, *Isai* 47. 13 are called, *Heberei Shamajim*, Observers of the Heavens, (translated Astrologers) And *HacLotfim Bechochabim*, Beholders of the Stars, or Star gazers. But whatever men pretend, the Stars cannot reveal such secrets.

1. Suppose two men go to Sea in the same Ship, from *England* to *Barbadoes*, and one dyeth, and another liveth ; they go out, continue at Sea, and come to the Island both of them under the same position of the Stars. How then can the Heavenly Bodies tell the Astrologer in *England*, that one man is dead, and the other alive ? So *Perkin* and *Paulet* steal each an Horse out of the same Stable, at the same time ;

time ; *Perkin* carries his stolen Horse to *Bristol*, and *Paulet* carries his to *Exeter*, both at one time ; how can the Stars direct the Mathematician to find one Horse at *Exeter*, and the other in *Bristol* ? they cannot, but the Devil can.

2. The Stars have their regular motion continued the same, according to the Law God laid upon them at first, *Ps*. 19. 4, 5, 6. & 104. 19. The fixed Stars continue in their orb, and the planets in theirs, whether men steal or be honest, go abroad or stay at home, are sick or well. *They are for signs and seasons* ; but not to point out the arbitrary actions of or contingent events upon men. *Mr. Lee*, the late learned Minister of the Gospel in *New Bristol*, related a credible Story of a Gentleman in *Hartford-shire*, ' Who had studied the Rules of Astrology, and ' being much urged, tryed by them to find ' for his friend a stolen Horse ; but when ' by all the rules of his art, he could find nothing, sat musing with his eyes shut, and just ' such a Horse as the man described, was represented to his Imagination, going with two ' men into a Stable, at such an Inn, in such a ' Town : He directs the man to go thither : ' he did so, and found his Horse, and returned ' to thank the artist. The Astrologer told him ' it was the Devil suggested it to his Imagination, and thereupon resolved never more to ' meddle with that art,

3. The insufficiency of these rules of themselves appear, in that those that seek for help by these artists, must have a belief, that they can help them, or else they cannot discover any thing to them. But if it were by pure art, the rules would be as effectual when people come without such a faith, as with it. 'I knew a very pious Matron, who when she was young in *England*, had lost some goods, and in her ignorance, went to a cunning man to find them. He told her he could not help her, unless she did believe he could. She answered, she believed in God, (or hoped in God) he could. Nay replied he, if you believe in God, I cannot help you. And so she returned without her goods, but with a conviction that she had gone to the Devil for help, and was not aware of it. Another relation like this, Mr. *Sberman* of *Boston* told me concerning himself. ' He being in *England* was unawares brought into the Company of such a Mathematician, to whom diverse came and gave him Money, to tell them, how, and where their friends & vessels were, that went over sea. And he after he had raised his Scheams, and made his calculations, gave them such informations as they were satisfied in. And at length, understanding Mr. *Sberman* was a *New England* man, asked, if he would know the state of his friends in *New England*. *Sberman* replied, there were none of his Art
' in

' in *New-England* : (Oh that it may be always
 ' so said of us !) but he had heard of this pro-
 ' fession : it was said, they could inform none
 ' that did not believe they could help them ;
 ' And he did not believe. The Artist reply-
 ' ed, he did it by pure Art, and would have
 ' *Sherman* try him, which at last he did. Tell
 ' me, said he, where my Father and Mother
 ' now are, and how they do. The Astrolo-
 ' ger asked him many questions, and after he
 ' had tryed the rules of his Art, said ; They
 ' were both alive in good health in *Boston* in
 ' *New-England*. This is not so, said *Sherman*,
 ' for they were both dead before I came
 ' thence ; and I told you, that you could not
 ' help me unless I did believe.

These two Relations agree with what Mr.
Perkins urgeth against Judicial Astrologers.
Chap. 3. p. 80. Viz. That they cannot help those
that come doubting of their ability, or in a way
to tempt the Astrologer.

3. A third sort of these Diviners are such as
 pretend to tell persons their Fortunes (as they
 call it) or future Condition by looking into
 their hands. I have been acquainted with
 some who have acquainted me with strange
 futurities, these Fortune-tellers have informed
 them of, which after came to pass ; such as
 man could not foretel but by the Devil, no nor
 the Devil, but by some Judicial Act of God
 over-ruling their Predictions, as he did the
 divinations

divinations of *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Ezek. 21. 21.* above mentioned. The vanity and falshood of the pretended Art of *Cbyromancy* to predict by, appeareth. (1) In that there is no such variety of strokes or marks in the hands or faces of men and women, as there be variety of conditions in mans life which they pretend to find out by these marks. (2) If there were any such predicting Characters stamped by nature upon the bodies of persons; these Fortune-tellers are the most unlikely to know them; they being generally illiterate, ignorant of nature, art, religion, reason, history, & experience, and scarce a degree above bruit beasts.

Let all be warned then of the great sin and snare that is in hearkening to such Soothsayers; the scope of their profession being to draw men off from dependance upon God and his guiding Providence in obedience to his Scripture Commands, with faith resting upon his promises, to lean upon the predictions of Fortune-tellers, who whether they prophecy good or evil, ensnare those exceedingly that enquire of them: for if they prophecy good, they are eagerly lifted up with doubtful expectations of its accomplishment. If it be evil, they are hanging upon a wrack of doubtful fears and terrors which rob them of the comfort of their times of health and prosperity, contrary to the advice given them, *Eccl. 2. 24* & *3. 12, 22*. These above-named use Witchcrafts in way of divination.

4 There be a fourth sort, whose exercise is more in operation, *viz.* such as cast a mist before the eyes of others by their Witchcrafts who are alluded unto, *Gal. 3. 1.* by the Greek word *Bascaino quasi phaesfi Kaino*. They have their eyes so held or darkened, that they cannot see things as they are: So the false teachers did bemist the eyes of the *Galatians*, *viz.* the eyes of their minds, that they could not see Christ Crucified before their eyes. Alike unto these are they who raise the Devil, or Spectres in diverse forms, doing strange things thereby. Of this sort was Dr. Lamb the notorious Conjuror, killed by the Mobile in London, in Charles the first his Reign. Mr. Baxter of Spirits, Chap. 7 p. 155, 156. Relates a well attested Story of Dr. Lamb, his raising in the middle of a room, a Tree, little fellows, apes, baskets, &c. all which soon vanished. I refer the Reader to Mr. Baxter, for the Story at large.

5. Another sort are such as they call white Witches; that by spells, charms, &c. will cure Diseases, and that more easily than men can, and fetch fish bones out of mens hands, &c. (1) Note here that the Devil hath more skill in the knowledge of all healing medicines than any man: and more ability and dexterity to convey them insensibly unto any sore, than any mortal creature. (2.) That some have such an ambition to excel in Physick, & curing variety of wounds and diseases, that they will raise them

ther go to the Devil, then fail of their desired skill and honour thereby. Many credible Histories I have heard of this kind; but I spare to enlarge in these things which have been so fully handled by *Perkins*, and others.

CHAPTER. XVI.

I come now to speak concerning those that are called *Black Witches*, or *Malefick Witches*, who by their enchantments do call in the Devils aid, for revenge, to do hurt to the bodies, and health of their neighbours, or to their cattle, goods, and the like. These are the persons commonly called Witches, and against whom the spirits of men and the laws of men are most bent, for their prosecution and punishment. Now that I have concerning such to say, I shall comprehend in the ensuing *Propositions*.

Prop. 1. There have been many evils that have befallen man and beast, which have been ungroundedly ascribed to Witchcraft, and so to Witches, which proceed from other causes: As from natural operations tho' hidden from those that so suspect: or from the hand of God immediately, or from the hand of Satan without the concurrence of man kind; as hath been in part shewed already in this enquiry above. Should an herd of Swine run violently down a steep place into the Sea in these days and perish in the waters, as did the *Gergesens Swine*,

Matb. 8. 32. People would conclude they perished by Witchcraft; and yet there was no such cause of the destruction.

Prop. 2. Melancholly and Imagination hath fancied many things to proceed from Witches, when there is no ground for it.

Prop. 3. Many impossible things for Witches, or the Devil to do by them, are related to be done by Witches: As the transmutation of bodies from men to beasts, &c. The going in Spirit to places far distant, and leaving their bodies behind; as if the Devil could separate the Soul from the body, and restore it again at pleasure, which is to ascribe to him a divine power to restore the dead. Such things are either devised fictions, or abuses of the imaginations of them that so say of themselves: they, being only laid in a trance or dream, and so conceiving a change in them that never was. So some have affirmed they have been carryed many hundred miles through the air, to remote places and brought back again in an hour or two, which cannot be without a miracle; for so swift a motion through the air, would take away the breath of a person so transported, without an almighty power to sustain them.

Prop. 4. It must be granted that there is no clear instance of any such *Malefick* or *Black* Witch in Scriptures. The Magicians of *Egypt* or *Babylon*, or those mentioned *Act. 8. 9, 10, 11.*

Ex. 13. 8, 9, 10. Jer. 27. 9. Isa. 47. Dan. 2. 6.

4. 6. 5.

4. & 5. chap. are not charged with any such crimes. The only instance I remember given of such an one in Scripture is *Balaam* : but he cannot be proved to be such an one. (1) Its pleaded that *Balak* sent to him to come ; For I *wor,* (saith he) *that he whom thou cursest is cursed.* And this indeed shews what an opinion *Balak* had of him, *Numb 22. 6.* But when *Balaam* answers the messengers, he tells them ; *As the Lord, i. e. Jehovah, shall speak to me, I will bring you word : And Jehovah refuseth to give me leave : And the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak. v. 8, 13, 38.* So that whatever opinions *Balaam* might have of plurality of Gods, yet he owns he could not curse *Israel* but by the true God. See *Numb. 23. 1, 3 with Deut. 23. 4, 5. Josh. 24. 9, 10.* The Scripture shews that *Balaam* sought not to curse *Israel*, but by the everliving God. (2) And if it be said, that *Balaam* saying, *There is no incantment against Jacob, neither divination against Israel, Cap. 23. 23.* Intimateth, That there may be incantment and divination also against other people ; yet it doth not signify that *Balaam* used to curse any without the assistance of the true God. For he saith, *v. 8. How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed? or how shall I defy, whom the Lord hath not defied?* He speaks as a man convinced, that the power of all false Gods was unable to bring a curse without Gods leave. And if *Balak* would give him an house full of Silver & Gold,

he saith, *he cannot go beyond the word of the Lord, or Jehovah, my God, to do less or more.* Where note, that *Balaam* openly professeth to these heathen, that *Jehovah* is his God, and him he will obey, *Numb. 22. 18.* And when the Angel of *Jehovah* opposeth him, he submits so far to him as to offer, if it displeased him, he would go back again. And when he comes to sacrificing, still it is to *Jehovah*. For he said, *Chap. 23. 3.* after he had offered, *Peradventure Jehovah will come & meet me, &c.* and where God met him, *He said unto him, i. e. to Jehovah, I have offered upon every altar a bullock & a ram,* and this was repeated again, and still *Balaam* went to meet *Jehovah*, and *Jehovah* met him once and again, and put a word in his mouth. And *Balaam* spake the word *Jehovah* put into his mouth: and when *Balaam* saw it pleased *Jehovah* to bless *Israel*, *Chap. 24. 1.* All the circumstances of the place shew that all his addresses were unto the living God, that by him he might procure such a curse upon *Israel*, which might do more against *Israel* then all the armies of *Balak* could do.

Q Why then is *Balaam* called a Soothsayer or Diviner, and said to use Incantments? and what are those Incantments? and why so called?

A. These incantments were the Sacrifices mentioned, *Chap. 24.* which were offered to the true God. For its said, *He went not as at other times to seek for Incantments:* This plainly re-
fers

fers to the times when he sacrificed as above-
said. *Heb. Cbepagnam, bepagnam, i. e.* not this time
as the former time; namely the times when he
sacrificed. Thus *Ainsworth in locum*; all his for-
mer altars and sacrifices were by the art of in-
chantment, or observing fortunes. But how
these were enchantments, seeing they were not
as the heathen enchantments to a false God, &
that sacrificing was an Ordinance of God, is a
difficulty to understand. But I conceive they
are so called, because *Balaam* did pervert the
end and use of Gods Ordinance, and therein
imitate the Heathen. For God had said to him,
Thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed. Yet
Balaam by these Sacrifices will try to curse them.
So heathen nations are said to do, before they
warred against any people to endeavour by
prayers, sacrifices and enchantments to turn the
favour of God from them. Before the Hea-
then *Romans* Besieged any City, their Priests,
called out the God, under whose tutelage the
City was, that he would forsake the people,
Temples and holy things, and be Provost unto
them, and accept of their City, &c. vowing to
him, if he would so do, to honour him with
Temples, &c. And then offered Sacrifices to the
Dictator or Emperour, devoted, or cursed the
Enemies Cities and Armies, that they might be
filled with fear, terror, &c. *Balaam* acts his like.
These and like the Charmers, *Maimony* speaks
of, who whisper over a wound, or read a verse

out of the Bible : likewise he that readeth over an infant, that it may not be frightened ; or that layeth the Bible, or the Phylacteries upon a child that it may sleep : Such saith he, are Inchanters or Charmers, because they make the words of the Scripture, medicine for the body, whereas they are not, but medicine for the Soul. So *Balaam* makes a charm of an Ordinance of God : For neither *Balak* nor *Balaam* aimed to give honour & glory to God thereby, but to use them as it were a bribe, to try if thereby they could prevail with the Lord to reverse his word, whereby he had said of *Israel*, *They are blessed*. For when he sees he cannot prevail, he saith, *God is not a man that he should ly ; and he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it*. Again, what *Balaam* did herein, it was not sincerely for God, but for his hire, *Neb. 13. 2*. Even for rewards of Divination, *Numb. 22. 7*. For the wages of unrighteousness, *2 Pet. 2. 15*. Possibly also there might be somewhat like enchantment in the manner of his sacrificing ; as *Sacrificing in the high places of Baal, and on the top of Peor*, places formerly dedicated to *Baal-Peor*. Thus *Balaam* by his Enchantments deserved the title of a Soothsayer or Diviner and mad Prophet.

Prop. 5. Though there be no plain example of a *Malefick* Witch ; yet from what the Scripture saith of the power of Satan and his malice against man, & of the wickedness that is in the

heart

heart of man ; we may see there is a possibility of such abominable creatures to be found in the black list of Satans guard. For,

1. Satan hath power when the Lord permits him, to do mischief to the bodies and estates of mankind, as already proved in the instances of *Job* and others.

2. There be some persons so wicked that *A-baz* like, they will sacrifice to and serve the Devil, that he may help them. And if in other things, why not in revenging them upon those they hate, as well as in other matters ? As *Israel* slew their brethren in a rage that reached up to heaven : so some will pursue their adversaries with a rage reaching down to hell. And excess of anger gives great advantage to the Devil, *Eph. 4. 26, 27. Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath ; neither give place to the Devil.* If sinful anger gives the Devil a place, how much more such a rage as whereby men go to hell for aid against their foes ? When men seek to Satan for revenge, he will be ready to further them in it ; by discoursing with them, (as he did with *Eve*, yea with *Christ* himself, *Matb. 4.*) to see what he may gain upon them thereby : or by tempting them to sacrifice to him, or use his ceremonies and ordinances, whereby, Satan is implicately at least invoked for to do his utmost on their behalf. And Satan that promised to the spotless Lamb of God, all the kingdoms of the world, will be ready to

to promise such miscreants to revenge them on their adversaries, or any mischief they desire, if they will serve him. And at some times to perform his promise if the Lord suffer him, as the roaring Lyon that seeks to devour : or at least will pretend himself author, of the harms the envied person sustaines. But if he cannot, yet he can answer such deluded creatures, that either they did not observe his direction, or that God hath set an hedge about the party maligned, or the like, and so keep up his credit still.

Mrs. Got, a very credible and pious woman, told me, *That her father Mr. Palmer lived next a man that acknowledged himself to be a Conjuror. On a certain day there came a violent wind upon Mr. Palmers house, as if it would blow it down : but it only blew down an Elm tree that stood in his Court yard. In process of time this Conjuror came to Mr. Palmer and confessed, that he had a grudge against him, and thereupon did invoke the Devil to do Palmer a mischief, and he promised to blow down Palmers house ; but only blew down the Elm : whereupon the Conjuror taxed the Dæmon with breach of promise : But he answered, Palmer was a Praying man, and God had set an hedge about all that he had need of, and so he had no power over his house ; but the Elm being only for shew and recreation, he had power over that.*

As for matters of fact, I must refer to histories that speak of *Malefick Witchcraft*, wherein though many things are certain or fabulous, there

There may be truth in some of those relations. And by the above-mentioned, and other such histories, we meet with of that kind, we may gather, That when persons will seek to the Devil for revenge, he will either do harm to those they hate, or if the Lord inflict by his hand upon such persons hated by the Conjurers, Satan will persuade the Conjuror, that he effected it in pursuance of their quarrel. But if the desired mischief be not effected, the Devil will have a plea to excuse himself. But however they which by themselves immediately invoke the Devil to help them, to avenge themselves on those they hate, are hereby *Malefick* Witches, whether they obtain his help or not.

CHAPTER XVII.

HAVING said thus much to shew what the Witches condemned by Scripture are, I shall reflect upon some assertions laid down in a Book dispersed about *Salem*, Anno 1695. Entituled, *Truth held forth &c.* Published, by *Thomas Maul*, pag. 221. He saith, What is the Devil, or Hell but nothing? that God never created them, for they were *Non Entity*, a not being, which is contrary and perfectly opposite to Entity and Being: And this might be the Devil that dwelt in *Adam* which seduced him, Pag. 185. He insinuates, That if people keep Gods Commands, or are righteous persons, they cannot

cannot be possessed or bewitched by the Devil or his Instruments; for the cause of their being possessed, or bewitched, hath been through a life of disobedience to God, *Pag. 190.* Saith The way to know one that is a Witch from one that is not a Witch, is by that wisdom, by which the Damosel, *Acts 16. 16.* was known to be a Witch. Unto these assertions, I answer (1.) By the said *Thomas Maul* & his Wife: For when *B. B.* was upon her Tryal, the said *Maul* Wife came in and testified against the said *B. B.* to prove her a Witch, in order to her Condemnation for Witchcraft: And the same day said *B.* was Executed, *T. Maul* said in my hearing, that if he had been desired to pray with her at her Execution, he would not; for he believed she was guilty of that sin the Scripture saith, we must not pray for it; for he believed she was a Witch, and had covenanted with the Devil, & forsaken God; and that was the sin we ought not to pray for. He said also that he could have come in a witness against her, if he would; & that he believed she had bewitched to death a Child of his. And he believed most of those in Prison were Witches. From hence I gather, that in the year 1692. *T. Maul* did believe the Devil to be an Entity, & that a Witch by him had power to bewitch to death the Child of him that he esteemed a righteous person; believing as others did, save that he counted a Witch guilty of the unpardonable sin. But when others

others find an error in proceeding too far in these matters, he comes to see it also: And to avoid it, runs into another extrem; which I prove by the ensuing Propositions.

Prop. 1. The Devils were once holy Angels, created by God, and so Entities. This appears by many Scriptures before mentioned: As by his tempting our Saviour, *Mat. 4.* Who had no corrupt quality within him; being the spotless Lamb of God; yet him did Satan tempt, *Mat. 4.* to take him up into the holy City, & set him on the pinnacle of the Temple, and into an high mountain, and shew him all the Kingdoms of the World, and the glory of them. These things could not be done by a New Entity. I shall add some farther confirmation from other places, (1) *Jude 6* Angels were created by God. The Devils are Angels. (2) They that left their own habitation are Entities. But the Devils left their own habitation: Therefore Entities. (3) They that sinned, and for their sin are delivered into Chains of Darkness, to be reserved unto Judgment, are Entities: But so did the Devil, *2 Pet. 2. 4.* Therefore, &c. (4.) He that is the Prince of this World, the God of this World, the Prince of the power of the Air; he that goeth to and fro in the earth, and walketh up and down in it, is a Being, an Entity. But such is the Devil, *Job 1. 7* *Job 14. 30.* *2 Cor. 4. 4.* *Eph. 2. 2.* Therefore. So then the denying the Entity of the Devil, is a reviving the old Doctrine of the Sadduces *Act 22. 8.* Who said, *There is neither Angel nor Spirit.*

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Prop. 2. There was no Devil dwelt in *Adam* to seduce him before he was tempted by *Eve* to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The Devil, saith he, is not a Being, yet dwelt in *Adam*, and seduced him: By this Devil in *Adam* then, he meaneth a sinful quality in *Adam* before he was tempted to eat, or it was a name without signification. But there could be no such evil quality in *Adam* before so tempted. For if it were, it must be created with him, or enter into him before *Eve* did tempt him: But neither of these, therefore not at all. Not the former, for he was created upright, *Ecc. 7. 29.* Very good, and in Gods Image, *Gen. 1. 26, 27, 31.* Not the latter, for the Scripture gives no intimation of any evil in *Adam* before seduced by the woman. (2) Nay the Devil that seduced him was without him, even the Serpent or Devil in the Serpent, that seduced *Eve* first by talking with her, and by her was he deceived, *Gen. 3. 1. to 6. 2 Cor. 11. 3. 1 Tim. 2. 14.* *Adam* was not deceived (that is first) but the woman, &c. (3.) The Lord in punishing that first sin, doth distinctly punish *Adam*, *Eve* and the Serpent (in which is comprehended the Devil that old Serpent. *Gen. 3. 14, 15. with 2 Cor. 11. 3. Rev. 20. 2.* as three distinct Entities or Beings; therefore the Devil was without, *ad extra*, before *Adam* was beguiled.

Prop. 3. All wicked men are not Witches as *T. Maul* holds forth, p. 183. & 193. &c. Say
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ing, *All that live a life of disobedience are Witches*
in some degree, with more to that effect. For if
all wicked persons were Witches in the sense in-
tended, *Exod. 22. 18. Deut. 18. 10.* Then all
wicked men should have been put to death by
the law of *Moses*. But there was no such thing.
Nay all the heathen Idolaters were not called
Witches, or Sorcerers in *Egypt* or *Babylon*, but
only some peculiar persons among them. And
if all had familiar Spirits, there had not been that
need of such a warning. *Regard not them which*
have familiar Spirits, nor seek after Wizards, &c.
Prop. 4 God hath no where promised all peo-
ple that keep Gods Commands, or are righteous
persons, that they shall not be possessed or be-
witched by the Devil or his Instruments. Indeed
it is sometimes so, as *Numb. 23. 21, 23* *There is*
no incantment against Jacob, neither any divina-
tion against Israel; when God hath not beheld in-
iquity in Jacob, nor seen perverseness in Israel. And
our best shield against Satan, is faith in Christ,
with prayer and an holy life. Yet *Job* a per-
fect man did suffer more in his Body, Goods,
servants and Children then most wicked men
in the World have done. And it was a Daugh-
ter of *Abraham* whom Satan bound eighteen years,
Luk. 13. 16. And a Mother of whom it is said,
O woman great is thy faith, be it unto thee even as
thou wilt; who had a Daughter grievously vexed
with a Devil possessing of her. so that God in his
Soveraignty makes all things come alike to all
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when he please; so that no man knoweth love or hatred by any thing that is before him.

Prop. 5. The bewitching spoken of, *Gal. 3.* is not to be understood of a proper or literal bewitching, but in a Metaphorical sense, where by way of allusion, the false Teachers are compared to Witches, as being like them; for as Witches have bewitched the eyes of the Body, so they bewitched the eyes of the mind. And though Witchcraft be one kind of the works of the flesh mentioned, *Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21.* Yet the Text doth not say, all the works of the Flesh are Witchcraft: But this is distinct from Murder, Drunkenness and the rest, as they are distinct each from other.

Prop. 6. The Wisdom of God doth nowhere say, that the Damoel mentioned, *Act. 16. 16* was a Witch. But it describeth her to be a person possessed with a spirit of divination, or having a spirit of *Python* within her: Whom *Paul* in the name of *Christ* commanded to come out of her, and so he was cast out. That Spirit that calleth her a Witch, doth consequentially at least call the Damoel, *Mark 7. 25.* a Witch, because she had an unclean spirit; and so would render all the possessed in the Gospel, worthy of death by *Moses* Law; which is to subvert all the Scriptures which condemn that abomination. It was therefore a blasphemous comparison which he made, who said, There was a great mistake in the Scripture, as in *T. Maule*

Book ; presuming therein to equalize to the lively Oracles of God, a Book abounding with gross mistakes in Doctrine and History.

Q. How may a Witch, Sorcerer or Conjuror be proved to be such as being legally convicted to receive the punishment appointed ? Exod 27. 18.

A. I answer from 1 Sam. 28 Chap. We find here that Saul put away those that had familiar Spirits, and Wizards out of the Land, vers. 2. Yet one was left at Endor, v. 7. Saul then had a way to convict them ; & the Woman at Endor points out the way, v. 9. For Saul had said to her, *Divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me him up whom I shall name unto thee :* The Woman answers, *Wherefore then layest thou a snare for my life, to cause me to dye ?* q. d. *If it be proved by sufficient witness, that I Divine by a familiar Spirit, and raise a Ghost from the Dead, I must dy by the Law. But Saul sweareth to her by the Lord, As Jehovah liveth, there shall no punishment happen to thee for this thing.* And then she proceeds. Note, that this woman tho' she dealt with and by the Devil, hath so much knowledge of Jehovah, and confidence in an Oath made by him, that she ventures her life upon it. Again, v. 21. After she had raised the supposed Samuel, she said unto Saul ; *I have obeyed thy voice, and have put my life in my hand.* As if she had said, *I have done that in obedience to thee ; that were it proved against me, would take away my life.* Here then we see

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that if it can be proved against any, that they have divined by a familiar spirit, or done such like act of communion with the Devil, or raised the Dead by him that is the Devil in likeness of the Dead; then such a person is proved to be a Witch that ought to die: So in like manner, if any be proved to use Sorceries (as did the Magicians of Egypt) among Christian people, such ought to dye, or proportionably by familiarity with the Devil to do, or come to know strange things, or work signs, lying wonders, or miracles by him, as they are called
2 Thes. 2. 9. Rev. 18. 13, 14. Deut. 18. 1, 2.

Q. But by what way may such Divinations and Sorceries be proved?

A. In the same way that Murder, Theft, and such like crimes are provable. As (1.) By the testimony of two Witnesses, that the party suspected hath used Sorcery, &c. (2.) Confession may in some cases be taken in this crime as well as others, as hath been above shewed; if the persons be *compotes mentis*, and give as clear demonstration of their guilt of the fact, as *Baanab* and *Rehab* did of their slaying *Ishbosheth* when they brought his head to *David*, *2 Sam. 4. 6, &c.* (3.) The testimony of partners in the crime in some cases, as above shewed, *Chap. 11.* (4.) Circumstances antecedent to, concomitant with, or suddenly consequent upon such acts of Sorcery, have like force to fasten a suspicion of this crime upon this or that person; as the like

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circumstances have to fasten a suspicion upon any for another crime attended with them ;
mutatis mutandis.

Here it may be enquired, *Whether persons oppressed, possessed, or under bodily torments or vexations by Satan, are fit witnesses?*

I answer in the ensuing Propositions.

Prop. 1. Those whose Bodies are sorely afflicted by the Devil, and yet their understandings clear and free, are fit to be Witnesses as well as others. As was *Job*, who when Satan had smitten him with sore boils from head to foot, yet was a fit witness for God. *Job* 42. 7.
speaking of God the thing that was right.

Prop. 2. Some under these molestations of Satan have their understandings so darkened and phantasies so abused, that they are not in their right mind, till delivered from Satan, as was the case of the man among the Tombs, *Mark* 5. 2, 3, 15. So the Damoel, *Acts* 16. 16, 17. Though she gave a true testimony concerning *Paul* and *Silas*, yet she was no fit witness, because she spake by the instigation of Satan, & not of her own knowledge. So it may be proportionably in persons under the influence of enchantment, or obsession by Satan, although in a lesser degree.

Prop. 3. Hence it may follow, that a person under these assaults of hell, may be fit for a witness at one time, when free from these fits, which darken his understanding: But not ano-

ther time, viz. when the senses are beclouded by the violence of their fits. Again, they may be fit to testify to some things; namely to what they feel and suffer upon their own Bodies: But not of what they see at some distance, or about external & remoter objects; because their eyes & phantasies may be under some kind of fascination (as I may call it) of the Devil; so as to mistake one thing for another.

Obj But is it not then according to the principle laid down above, impossible to prove any person to be a Witch; seeing the workings between Satan and them are so secret? How can they be discovered?

A. Other Malefactors work secretly & in the dark, hoping never to be discovered. Job 24 14 15, 16, 17. The Murderer, Thief, Adulterer, say no eye shall see me, & disguise their faces, dig in the dark, &c. But the Lord searcheth out such Malefactors, when settled on their lees with his candle of judgment, though they dig deep to hide themselves from men; yea, & if it were possible, from God himself. They say *Who seeth us? who knoweth us,* Zeph. 1 12 Isa 29 15, 16. Yet the Lord brings all to light before men when he pleaseth. So the Lord can & doth discover Sorcerers, Magicians, and all sorts of Witches, when, and as oft as he pleaseth; and sometimes leaves them to discover and betray themselves: And sometimes over-rules their Master whom they serve, to intrap & deceive them. Pro. 26. 26. Whose hatred is covered by deceit

his wickedness shall be shewed before the whole Congregation. Which is to be understood when the Lord pleaseth to bring to light these hidden works of darknes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

I Shall conclude this Discourse with some Application of the whole.

1. We may hence see ground to fear, that there hath been a great deal of innocent blood shed in the Christian World, by proceeding upon unsafe principles, in condemning persons for Malefick Witchcraft.

2. That there have been great sinful neglects in sparing others, who by their divinings about things future, or discovering things secret, as stolen Goods, &c. or by their informing of persons and things absent at a great distance, have implored the assistance of a familiar spirit, yet coloured over with specious pretences, and have drawn people to enquire of them: A sin frequently forbidden in Scripture, as *Lev. 19. 31* & *20. 6.* *Isa. 8. 19, 20.* and yet let alone, and in many parts of the World, have been countenanced in their diabolical skill and profession; because they serve the interest of those that have a vain curiosity, to pry into things God hath forbidden, and concealed from discovery by lawful means. And of others that by their enchantments, have raised mists, strange sights,

and the like, to beget admiration, and please Spectators, &c. When as these divinations and operations are the Witchcraft more condemn'd in Scripture than the other.

3. But to come nigher home, we have cause to be humbled for the mistakes & errors which have been in these Colonies, in their Proceedings against persons for this crime, above forty years ago and downwards, upon insufficient presumptions and presidents of our Nation, whence they came. I do not say, that all those were innocent, that suffered in those times upon this account. But that such grounds were then laid down to proceed upon, which were too slender to evidence the crime they were brought to prove; and thereby a foundation laid to lead into error those that came after. May we not say in this matter, as it is, *Psal* 106 6. *We have sinned with our fathers?* And as, *Lam* 5. 7. *Our fathers have sinned and are not, and we have born their iniquities?* And whether this be not one of the sins the Lord hath been many years contending with us for, is worthy our serious enquiry. If the Lord punished *Israel* with famine three years for a sin of misguided zeal forty years before that, committed by the breach of a Covenant made four hundred years before that: *2 Sam.* 21. 1, 2. Why may not the Lord visit upon us the misguided zeal of our Predecessors about Witchcraft above forty years ago, even when that Generation is gathered to their Fathers.

4. But I would come yet nearer to our own times, and bewail the errors and mistakes that have been in the year 1692. In the apprehending too many we may believe were innocent, and executing of some, I fear, not to have been condemned; by following such traditions of our fathers, maxime of the Common Law, & Presidents and Principles, which now we may see weighed in the balance of the Sanctuary, are found too light. I heartily concur with that direction for our publick prayers, emitted December 17. 1696 by our General Assembly, in an order for a general Fast, viz. *That God would shew us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiss, to do so no more: And especially that whatever mistakes on either hand, have been fallen into, either by the body of this people, or any order of men, referring to the late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his Instruments, through the awful Judgment of God: He would humble us therefore, and pardon all the errors of his Servants & People, that desire to love his Name, and be attuned to his land.* I am abundantly satisfied that those who were most concerned to act and judge in those matters, did not willingly depart from the rules of righteousness. But such was the darkness of that day, the tortures and lamentations of the afflicted, and the power of former presidents, that we walked in the clouds, and could not see our way. And we have most cause to be humbled for error on

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that hand, which cannot be retrieved. So that we must beseech the Lord, that if any innocent blood hath been shed, in the hour of temptation, the Lord will not lay it to our charge, but be merciful to his people whom he hath redeemed, *Deut.* 21. 8. And that in the day when he shall visit, he will not visit this sin upon our land, but blot it out, and wash it away with the blood of Jesus Christ.

5. I would humbly propose whether it be not expedient, that some-what more should be publickly done then yet hath, for clearing the good name and reputation of some that have suffered upon this account, against whom the evidence of their guilt was more slender, and the grounds for charity for them more convincing. And this (in order to our obtaining from the Lord farther reconciliation to our land,) & that none of their surviving relations, may suffer reproach upon that account. I have both read and heard of several in *England*, that have been executed for Capital crimes, and afterwards upon sense of an error in the process against them, have been restored in blood and honour by some publick act. My Lord Cook relates a story. *A man going to correct a Girle his Neice, for some offence, in an upper room, the Girle strove to save her self, till her nose bled, and wiping it with a cloth, threw the bloody cloth out at the window, and cryed Murder; and then ran down staires, got away and hid her self. Her Uncle was prosecuted*
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by her friends upon suspicion of Murdering her, because she could not be found. He declared that she made her escape, as above said. Then time was allowed him to bring her forth, but he could not hear of her within the time, and fearing he should dy if she could not be found, procures another Girle very like her, to appear in Court, and declare she was his Neice that had been missing: But her relations examine this counterfeit, until they find her out, and she confesseth she was suborned and counterfeited the true Neice. Upon these presumptions the man was found guilty of Murdering his Neice, and thereupon executed. And after his execution his true Neice comes abroad & shews her self alive and well. Then all that saw it were convinced of the Uncles innocency, and vanity of such presumptions. The Printing & Publishing of this relation Vindicates the good name of the Uncle, from the imputation of the crime of Murder. And this is one end of this present discourse, to take off (so far as a discourse of this nature can) infamy from the names and memory of such sufferers in this kind, as do not deserve the same.

6. Here it may be suitable for us to enquire, What the Lord speaks to us by such a stupendous providence, in his letting loose Satan upon us in this unusual way? Ans. 1. We may say of this, as our Saviour said of his washing his disciples feet, Job. 13. What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter. The Judgments of the Lord are a great deep, Psal. 36. 6, How unsearchable are his

his judgments, and his ways past finding out:

2. Yet somewhat of his counsel at present for our instruction may be known, by comparing the Word and works of God together.

1. As when *Joshua* the high Priest though an holy chosen man of God, stood before the Angel, *Satan stood at his right hand to resist him*, or to be his adversary: And the advantage *Satan* had was by the filthy garments *Joshua* was clothed with before the Angels: That is, some iniquity which yet was not passed away, *Zech.* 3. 1, 3, 4. So we may say here were among Gods own Children filthy garments. The sins of Luke-warmness, loss of our first love, unprofitableness under the Gospel, slumbering & sleeping in the wife, as well as foolish Virgins, worldliness, pride, carnal security, and many other sins. By these and such like sins the accuser of the Brethren got advantage to stand at our right hand (the place of an Accuser in Courts of Justice) and there accuse us and resist us.

2. When the *Egyptians* refused to let *Israel* go to sacrifice and keep a feast to the Lord in the Wildernets: *The Lord cast upon the fierceness of his wrath, by sending Evil Angels among them* *Psalm.* 78. 49. *Egypt*s sins were (1.) Covetousness, they would not let *Israel* go, because they gained by their labours. (2.) Contempt of God and his Instituted Worship, and Ordinance. They did not count them of such concernment, that *Israel* should go into the Wildernets.



to observe them. Both these sins have too much increased in our Land. (1.) Covetousness, an inordinate love of the World gave Satan advantage upon us. (2.) Contempt of Gods Worship and Instituted Ordinances. The Errand of our Fathers into this Wilderness was to Sacrifice to the Lord; that is, to worship God in purity of heart and life, and to wait upon the Lord, walking in the faith and order of the Gospel in Church fellowship; that they might enjoy Christ in all his Ordinances. But these things have been greatly neglected and despised by many born, or bred up in the Land. We have much forgotten what our Fathers came into the Wilderness to see. The sealing Ordinances of the Covenant of Grace in Church-Comunion have been much slighted and neglected; and the fury of this Storm raised by Satan hath fallen very heavily upon many that lived under these neglects. The Lord sends Evil Angels to awaken and punish our negligence: And to my knowledge some have been hereby excited to enter into the Chamber of Gods Ordinances, to hide themselves, until the indignation be over past.

3. David when he removed the Ark from Kirjathjearim, had the Ark put into a new Cart, which should have been carried by the Kohathites. Numb. 3. 31 And David thought this was right, until the Lord slew Uzza for touching the Ark: But then he looked more exactly into

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the will of God; and confesseth that the
Lord made a breach upon them, because they
sought him not after the due order, 1 Chron. 13.
5, 7, 9, 10. & 15. 11, 12, 13. Had not the Lord
made that breach upon them, they had persisted
securely in their error. So I may say in this case.
In the prosecution of Witchcraft, we sought not
the Lord after the due order; but have pro-
ceeded after the methods used in former
times and other places, until the Lord in
this tremendous way mad a breach upon us. And
Hereby we are made sensible that that the
methods formerly used are not sufficient to prove
the guilt of such a crime. And this I conceive
was one end of the Lords letting Satan loose to
torment and accuse so many; that thereby we
search out the truth more exactly. For had it
not been for this dreadful dispensation, many
would have lived and dyed in that error, wick
they are now convinced of.

4. The Lord delivered into the hand of Sat-
an, the Estate, Children, and Body of Job, for
the tryal of Jobs faith and patience, and proof
of his perfection and uprightness. So the Lord
hath delivered into Satans hand mens Children &
Bodies, yea names and estates into Satans hand
for the tryal of their faith and patience, and far-
ther manifestation of the sincerity of their professions.

7. From that part of the discourse which shews
the power of Satan to torment the Bodies

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and disturb the minds of those, he is let loose upon, Chap. 6. I would infer, that Satan may be suffered so to darken the minds of some pious Souls, as to cause them to destroy themselves by drowning, hanging, or the like. And when he hath so far prevailed upon some that formerly lived a Christian life, but were under the prevalence of a distracting Melancholy at their latter end: We may have Charity that their Soules are Saved, notwithstanding the sad conclusion of their lives. I speak not to excuse any that having the free use of their reason willingly destroy themselves, out of pride, discontent, impatience, &c. Achitophel who out of height of Spirit because his Counsel was not followed, and to prevent Davids executing of him, for his rebellion and treason, destroyed himself, hath left his name to stink unto all generations. And Judas who for his unparalled treachery in betraying his Master, and the Lord of life, was justly left to hang himself; and the rope breaking or slipping he fell down head long, or with his face downward, so that he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out, Math. 27. 5. with Act. I. 18. left by his sin and punishment in the last act of his life the black character of a Son of perdition. But those that being out of their right minds, and hurried by an evil Spirit, as persons under a force to be their own executioners, are not always to be ranked with these.

8. Seeing

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8. Seeing we have been too fierce against supposed *Malefick Witchcraft*; let us take heed we do not on the contrary become too favorable to divining *Witchcraft*: And become like *Saul* who was too zealous against the *Gibeonites*, & at last turned to seek after one that had a familiar Spirit, to his own destruction. Let us not, if we can help it, suffer *Satan* to set up an ensnaring office for stolen Goods. That after he hath brought the curse of God into the house of the thief, by tempting him to steal: he may not bring about the curse into the houses of them from whom the goods were stolen; by alluring them to go to the gool of *E Kron* to enquire. That men may not give their Souls to the Devil in exchange, for his restoring to them their goods again, in such a way of divination. The Lord grant it may be said of *New England*, as is prophesied of *Judah*, *Mic. 5. 12.* *I will cut off Witchcrafts out of thine land, and thou shalt have no more soothsayers.*

9. Another extream we must beware of is, viz. Because our fathers in the beginning times of this Land, did not see so far into the these mysteries of iniquity, as hath been since discovered. Let us not undervalue the good foundations they laid for God and his people, and for us in Church and Civil Government. For *Paul* that eminent Apostle knew but in part; no wonder then, if our Fathers were imperfect men. In the purest times
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the Nature of Witchcraft.

in *Israel*, there were some Clouds of ignorance over-shadowing of them. *Abraham*, *David*, and the best Patriarchs were generally ignorant of the sin of Polygamy. And although *Solomon* far exceeded *Nehemiah* in wisdom; yet *Nehemiah* saw farther into the evil of Marrying Outlandish Women, than that wisest of Kings, and mer fallen men. *Neh.* 13. 26. *Josiah* kept the Pass-over more exactly, than *David*, and all the Reforming Kings of *Judahs*, 2 *Chron.* 35. 18.

All the godly Judges and Kings of *Judah* were unacquainted with, and so negligent of the right observation of the feast of Tabernacles, until it came to *Nehemiah's* time: And he understood and revived an ordinance of God, that lay buried in oblivion, near about a thousand years. Now he that shall reject all the good in doctrine and practice, which was maintained, professed and practiced by so many Godly leaders, because of some few errors found among them, will be found to fight against God. A dwarf upon a giants shoulders, can see farther than the giant.

It was a glorious enterprize of the beginners of these Colonies, to leave their native Country to propagate the Gospel: And a very high pitch of faith, zeal, and courage that carryed them forth, ~~zeal, and courage~~ to follow the Lord into this wilderness, into a land that was not sown. Then was *New England* holiness to the Lord, and all that did devour them, or attempted to do, did offend,

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offend, and evil did come upon them. And the Lord did graciously remember this kindness of their Youth, and love of their Espousals; In granting them many eminent tokens of his favour; by his presence with them in his Ordinances, for the Conversion of Souls, and edifying and comforting the hearts of his servants: By signal answering their prayers in times of difficulty: By protecting them from their Enemies: By guiding of, and providing for them in a Desert. And the Lord will still remember this their kindness unto their Posterity, unless that by their apostacy from the Lord, they vex his Holy Spirit, to turn to be their Enemy: And thereby cut off the Entail of his Covenant Mercies, which God forbid. *Oh that the Lord may be with us, as he was with our Fathers; and that he may not leave us, nor forsake us!*

F I N I S.

